

PEACE NEWS

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2d.

George Lansbury reflects on Waterloo:

THERE'S STILL HOPE FOR WORLD PEACE

NAPOLEON—THE KAISER—ADOLF HITLER . . .

In little over a century these three men have played the rôle of "the tyrant seeking to dominate Europe," as newspaper leading articles have it.

Napoleon's ambitions crashed at Waterloo in 1815. The Kaiser was dethroned in 1918. Herr Hitler's day is still to come.

George Lansbury, MP, President of the Peace Pledge Union, visiting the field of Waterloo, reflects on the futility of violence as a method of establishing lasting peace, and expresses again the hope that there is still time to start anew and build up a really civilized society.

THE other day in Brussels Henry Carter Americans, but the true bedstead still remained and myself found ourselves with some mains! Such is "propaganda." hours to spare. We had finished our piece The Field of Waterloo, so far as the land of work and were just waiting for the time is concerned, remains much the same. As I to pass before returning home, so, like good looked around my thought would continuously wander to the words of Shiel, said to

"trippers," we took our seats in a very nice charabanc, bound for the "Field of Waterloo."

In parts the countryside along which we were driven is very lovely, giving us the impression conveyed in the words "Where every prospect pleases and only man is vile." We met armed soldiers now and then, in the main, though, everything seemed quite normal and most unwarlike.

The people in the "chara" were a mixture—a young couple from West Bromwich recognized us and were friendly and interesting to talk to; one or two were from Australia and the Far East. The rest were Europeans of various nationalities.

Effect of "Propaganda"

Our guide was a perfect linguist, speaking three or four languages all at once, bringing vividly before our minds both the humour and tragedy associated with the nightscare and hustle along the road on the never-to-be-forgotten night of the famous ball in Brussels which preceded the famous battle.

The village of Waterloo is changed because along its one long street or road many houses and shops have been added. One show place remains a house in which it is said Wellington slept a few hours on that eventful night.

The bed on which he is said to have rested is shown. Our guide, with a merry twinkle in his eye, told us that this self-same bed and bedstead had been sold and bought and taken away many times by

The blood of England, of Ireland, and of Scotland flowed in the same stream on the same field. Their dead lay cold and stark together; in the same deep pit their bodies were deposited; the green corn of spring is now breaking from their commingled dust. In the glory shall we not be permitted to participate and shall we be told as a requital we are estranged from the noble country in whose defence our life's blood was poured out?"

M.P. Shiel was a great orator, an Irish patriot. In the years following Waterloo down to this moment the terrible quarrel between the sister isle, now named as of old, Eire, and ourselves has gone on, and as I wandered around I kept thinking of the words "How long, O Lord, how long"

will foolish, stupid humanity continue to imagine that peace, good will, security, can ever come through oppression, violence, and hatred?

Nobody we spoke with (and there was quite a large number present) expressed any hatred of Germans or Italians. The memories associated with the War-time occupation of Belgium by the Germans are passing away. As we passed the barracks where the noble, chivalrous, courageous

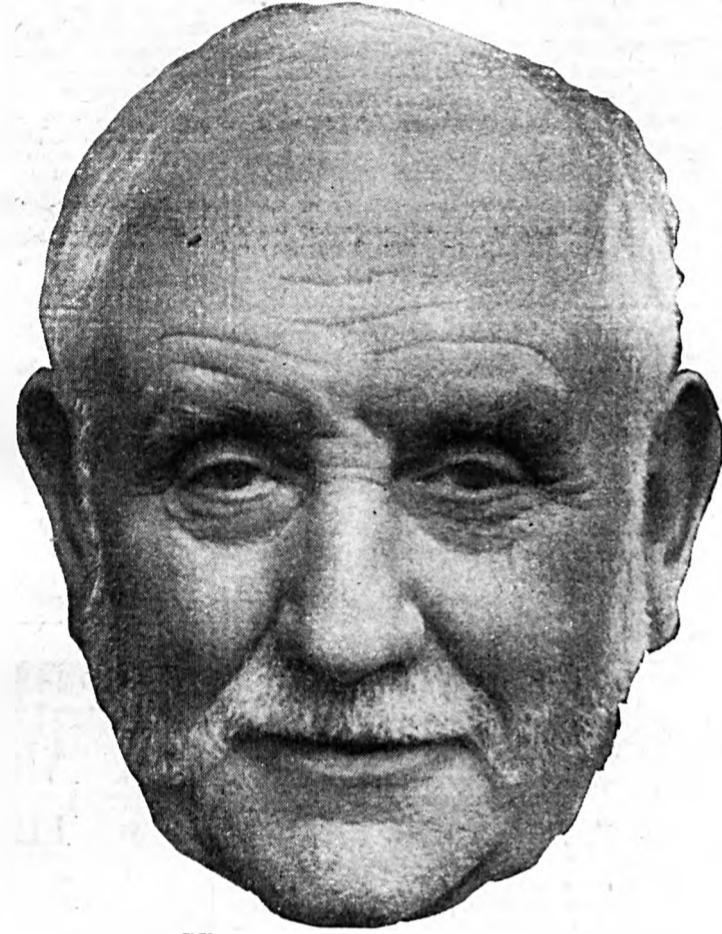
Nurse Cavell faced the firing squad, no word escaped us as we raised our hats and thought of her noble words, "Patriotism is not enough."

Hope of Belgium

Our guide did his best to make us understand that Belgians hope and pray, even in the midst of great war preparations, that war will not come and that most of them think it impossible that God can intend to allow this small nation, whose one desire is to live in peaceful, cordial relationship with all people, to be again torn and crushed because great Powers will not live at peace with each other.

There is a man-made hill, and it takes over two hundred steps to reach the summit. Towering over all at the top is a huge lion representing the might of Britain, Belgium, and Germany as expressed in the victory of Waterloo. This hill, or little mountain, was made by women who were employed to carry the earth up in basket-loads.

(Continued on back page).



GEORGE LANSBURY, MP.

War? It's up to You! says the Plain Man

IN the past few issues of *Peace News* I have tried to give a glimpse of deep-rooted problems which are causing some of the trouble in the world today.

This week I want to tackle the question of peace and war from a rather different angle. I want to suggest that we can prevent war from taking place even though all the so-called causes of war remain. And by "we" I mean ordinary people like you and me.

The powers-that-be are inclined to leave us out of the picture—till they want our support for war or preparation for it. So we're not as powerless as we may think. In the long run, it really depends on us whether a war can be waged or not.

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WITH the coming of the bomber, not only the man-in-the-street, but his wife and kiddies, find themselves in the front line.

And that goes for the man-in-the-street in Berlin as well as in London; and for his wife and children.

Nor is it the whole story. You can't mechanize the whole business of war as we've done without needing an industrial army—millions of people in factories, offices, and workshops, to turn out the means of destruction.

So you see the people "left behind" are very important in modern war.

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WE all know how the brass hats guard against any possibility of the actual fighting forces deciding that they've had enough of any particular war: iron discipline and drastic treatment of anyone who doesn't do as he's told.

The same treatment is now going to be handed out to anyone at home who starts kicking over the traces in war-time.

To make such a thing less likely they're already trying to get our minds used to the idea of war. Gas-masks, shelters, air raid drill in factories, and so on—they're all part of the scheme for making us easy to be led.

(Continued on p. 8)

10 Commandments for Pacifists

1. Thou shalt love peace with all thy heart, with all thy mind, and with all thy soul.

2. Thou shalt love thy neighbour as thyself: thy neighbour without distinction of country, race, or religion. Thou shalt refuse to destroy thy neighbour. Thou shalt never consent to that mass murder which is war.

3. If the State, using its all-powerful force, imposes on thee obligations connected with war, thou art not obliged to break thyself in an effort of vain resistance. But thou art obliged to declare to all that, if thou shouldst yield, thou yieldest to pressure, and not of free will.

4. Thou shalt never proclaim war to be inevitable. Thou shalt never speak of "the next war." Thou shalt never, without protest, allow others to speak before thee of inevitable war, nor of "the next war."

5. In the gravest circumstances, and even when peace seems to be in greatest danger, thou shalt avoid useless panic; thou shalt keep calm, and remain master of thyself.

6. Once thy daily task is done, and well done, thou shalt devote a certain portion of thy activity to peace.

7. Once the existence of thyself and thy family is assured, thou shalt devote a certain part of thy resources to peace, to the defence of the lives of all.

8. Thou shalt increase thy strength by joining it with the strength of willing comrades, loyal to peace like thyself. Thou shalt strive in the local sphere, the national sphere and, as far as possible, the international sphere, for the collaboration of all sincere friends of peace.

9. Thou shalt be devoted and friendly towards all. Thou shalt show a particularly attentive friendship toward those who are coarsely called "foreigners."

10. Thou shalt show a cheerful countenance to all.

—Professor Felicien Challaye, in the French pacifist weekly, "La Patrie Humaine."

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Small States Do Not Desire British "Guarantees"

WE are now engaged with the Soviet Government in a negotiation, to which I hope there may very shortly be a successful issue, with a view to associating them with us for the defence of States in Europe whose independence and neutrality may be threatened."

This was part of the reference to recent pacts entered into by Britain, with which Lord Halifax began his speech at the Royal Institute of International Affairs last Thursday.

Which are the States in whose "independence and neutrality" Britain is so interested? And what is their attitude towards these diplomatic moves? Useful information on these points, given in Bulletins Nos. 11 and 13 of the Peace and Progressive Information Service, goes to show that the countries involved did not desire guarantees, and may even have feared them:

Poland

One of the most valuable non-aggression pacts was the Polish-German agreement which has helped to maintain the peace of Europe where much trouble was expected. As a result of the Anglo-Polish Pact, the former has come to an end. Referring to the British guarantee to Poland, Herr Hitler said on April 28:

"This obligation is contrary to the agreement I made with Marshal Pilsudski. I therefore look upon this agreement as having been unilaterally infringed by Poland and thereby no longer in existence."

Rumania

Just when we were assured that Rumania was being threatened by an economic "ultimatum," Rumania denied any threat whatsoever and concluded a trade agreement with Germany. M. Grigori Gafencu, Rumanian Foreign Minister, said during a visit to London in April:

"I am certain that I shall be able to go back to Rumania knowing that the future is more settled and assured than it has been for a long time. My talk with Herr Hitler helped immensely to clarify many things. A number of misunderstandings have been explained and I came away with the conviction that it should be possible to reach an agreement satisfactory to everyone."

"We must look for other reasons for offering a pact to Rumania than her fear of Germany."

Greece

The following dispatch from Athens in the *New York Times* (April 13) expresses the attitude of Greece:

"Britain may offer Greece military aid in the event of aggression, and may even accompany such a gesture with further generosity consisting of a loan to the tune of several million pounds. None the less, Greece will not be drawn into conflict if the government has anything to say about it and as it stands, the government being a dictatorship, has something to say about it. . . . It appears now that this self-assurance and proud sense of security thus proclaimed are due to the Italian attitude rather than to the British. . . ."

Baltic and Scandinavian Countries

How far these neighbours of Germany feel threatened and are in need of assistance pacts can be seen in the *New York Times* of June 6: "It is announced in official quarters that non-aggression pacts with Estonia and Latvia will be signed Wednesday. The Foreign Ministers of both Baltic States will come to Berlin for these formalities."

"The projected treaties were regarded as an indirect consequence of President Roosevelt's April 15 suggestion that Chancellor Adolf Hitler specifically give assurances that Germany would not infringe on the integrity of 31 named States. Herr Hitler's reaction was to offer non-aggression pacts to Norway, Sweden, Finland, Latvia, Estonia and Denmark."

"Denmark accepted and a treaty has been signed. Norway, Sweden and Finland reported that they regarded non-aggression assurances as unnecessary. In addition, a treaty embodying non-aggression clauses was signed with Lithuania, another Baltic State, soon after Germany's annexation of Memel on April 22."

Comments on statements in the British Parliament, published in newspapers in the Baltic States last week, declared however, that the British Government's attitude toward the independence and security of the Baltic Republics was essentially the same as that of those republics themselves.

An article in the leading Conservative Finnish newspaper resented the danger to Finnish neutrality which it saw in Anglo-Soviet negotiations.

Netherlands, Belgium and Switzerland

These States have made it clear that they want nothing to do with pacts of assistance and are determined to observe strictest neutrality.

The Dutch Government issued a statement on July 3 emphasizing its policy of remaining neutral to European controversies. The press continues to insist that offers of guarantees from Britain and France would be declined, as was a similar German offer last year.

Jugoslavia

The *New York Times* of June 5 after describing the departure from Berlin of the Regent of Jugoslavia, adds:

"The news service *Dienst aus Deutschland*

which has excellent sources of information from the Foreign Office, said Jugoslavia now could be counted in the anti-Comintern Front."

Turkey

Until recently Balkan tranquillity was due to a large extent to the existence of the Entente, entered into in 1934, which includes the countries of Turkey, Greece, Rumania and Jugoslavia.

Although as recently as February this year, the principle of neutrality was emphasized, on May 12 Mr. Chamberlain announced a Pact of Mutual Aid with Turkey and it is understood that negotiations for a definite long-term agreement depend upon Anglo-Soviet agreement being reached.

With the conclusion of the Anglo-Turkish Pact, the basis of Turkish neutrality is destroyed, and there is evidence already that the Balkans have again become a political cockpit of the greater Powers.

Overheard in a Dorking Bus

An old lady who had left her gas mask behind in a village where she used to live: "Why should I go and fetch it? What does an old woman of Mickleham want with it? We shall have war if we go on dangling them things in our 'ands."

From a Russian War Resister

WITH the introduction of conscription in England you will have plenty of work.

"The time has come for comrades in England to manifest their conviction not only in words, but also in their deeds; I am sure that every member of the Peace Pledge Union will do his duty.

"With great interest I read *Peace News*, there are so many interesting articles in it, although I do not always agree with them; but I am glad to see that the peace movement is growing in England."

—From a letter from a Russian member of the War Resisters' International to *The War Resister*.

Britain's Armaments Expenditure

We published recently an article by Mr. Frank R. Hancock which contained a list of the actual armament figures of this country for the years 1893, 1913 to 14, and from 1924 onward.

For purposes of comparison we give below the figures for the immediate post-war years.

Year	£
1919	620 millions
1920	277 "
1921	175 "
1922	116 "
1923	110 "

Fairy Story

The Intermediate Examination of the Law Society, held last month, for young lawyers, many of whom were liable to be conscripted within the following year, contained the following problem:

As a result of a moving address by the Chairman of a Pacifist Society, several members were so roused against war that they armed themselves with sticks and marched in military formation to seek and slay the local recruiting sergeant. When they first approached his house he was in the garden tending his roses; he barricaded himself inside the house.

Members of the Women's Land Army were passing at the time, and they intervened to prevent the recruiting sergeant from being killed.

In a desperate effort to save the recruiting sergeant from death some of the militant pacifists were inadvertently killed by members of the Women's Land Army who used no more force than was necessary to protect the recruiting sergeant.

You are asked to advise whether the members of the Women's Land Army who were responsible for the killing could be successfully indicted for murder of the militant pacifists.

The nature of the pacifist spirit is evidently taken fairly lightly, but at least the examiners have revealed that their ignorance of the theological term "militant" is in contradistinction to their presumed knowledge of the law.

Good News for Jitter-bugs

A fourteenth-century stained glass window in Rouen Cathedral which was removed during the crisis last September, has just been returned to its original position.

From the Editor's Notebook

Alternatives to Military Service The "Equality" Argument A C.O.'s Bold Demand

THE register of conscientious objectors (which is still "not news") contains the names of some of the friends and associates of the Bruderhof, the pacifist community in the Cotswolds, though none of its actual members is liable for military training.

They should be able to claim before the tribunal, with some conviction in view of their deep contact with the life and peace witness of this big "family," that community life on an agricultural basis is a definitely practicable alternative to military service. And such service should appeal particularly to those young men who feel uneasy in their consciences as to whether they should not do something positive toward peace, instead of merely refusing to be conscripted.

The Society of Brothers—the new name that covers both the Bruderhof at Ashton Keynes and the recently opened one at Oaksey (4½ miles away)—is willing to take in any young men who wish to work with its members toward a new order of society.

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The leader of the society, EBERHARD C. H. ARNOLD, son of the man who originally founded it in Germany, tells me there are about ten nationalities represented in the two communities. They are mainly German, British, Swiss, and Dutch.

Much has again been made, with the calling up of the first conscripts last weekend, of the comradeship of military service done by people of all classes on a basis of equality of service. The same could be said of life in the Bruderhof, where representatives of practically (if not actually) all classes and strata in society (from tramps to titled people!) work and live together.

New Communal Group?

INSPIRED by the rapid growth of the Bruderhof and many other communities in the country, RONALD F. PHILLIPS, of 16 Middleham Road, Edmonton, London, N.18 (who has also registered as a conscientious objector), is interested in the formation of a community in or near London.

He feels that agriculture is not necessarily the best "industry" for a community to adopt, and that it may be quite unsuited for many people. Moreover, he says, "there is so much work for the pacifist to do in London that the undoubted joys of country life tend toward escapism."

But listen to his own suggestion as put to me.

"We would start by remaining at our present jobs, but living together and pooling our incomes," he writes. "The surplus effected by this economy would be devoted to pacifist

propaganda, refugees and unemployment, and to the future expansion of the community.

"We would grow our own vegetables, as the first step toward making the community entirely self-supporting. Thus we would adopt various industries which members could perhaps work at in their spare time and gradually transform into whole-time work, so dispensing entirely with capitalistic employment.

"The community would be organized on the broadest possible spiritual basis: no-one would be barred from membership because of his particular beliefs. I have in mind a site adjoining Epping Forest, and believe that if a number of people come together in the right spirit the financial difficulties can be overcome."

Mr. PHILLIPS would be pleased to hear from anyone who would consider joining this venture.

Another Alternative

THE same reader recently made a novel suggestion in a letter to the Prime Minister, which at any rate showed his determination to make a positive reply to conscription.

Recalling MR. CHAMBERLAIN's plea of "special conditions" in international affairs, as his excuse for introducing conscription, MR. PHILLIPS pointed out that he too had been concerned by certain "special conditions," namely the Distressed Areas in our own country. He added:

"I have made some simple calculations based on the estimates announced in the House, and find that each Militiaman will cost the nation about £150 for equipment and accommodation and £2 per week for food and pay for six months. It is only just that I should have equal opportunities to carry out my form of service."

"I demand, therefore, that His Majesty's Government should grant me £150 and £2 per week for six months on condition that I use all that money in work of reconstruction in the Distressed Areas. If the project requires legislation, I shall be pleased to hear that you have introduced and passed a Bill through the House in as short time as the Military Training Bill was passed. Any inhabitant of the Distressed Areas will tell you that their 'special conditions' are as urgent as any of your own."

The Two N.P.'s

A GROUP of leaders in the peace movement here were invited last week by the National Peace Council to an informal conference with PROFESSOR C. G. FENWICK and the REV. ROSWELL P. BARNES—both leading people in the American peace movement—who were on their way to Geneva.

PROFESSOR FENWICK is a Professor of Political Science in Bryn Mawr College, Pennsylvania, and Chairman of the Catholic Association for International Peace. MR. BARNES is Associate Secretary of the Federal Council of Churches in the United States. Both have had close connections with the National Peace Conference, which is an organization broadly

comparable to our National Peace Council.

One of the main purposes of the discussion was to consider ways and means of developing co-operation between the American and British peace organizations and, in particular, of promoting co-operation

in support of a constructive peace policy along the lines of the British National Petition for a New Peace Conference.

How far this purpose can be achieved remains to be seen, but the discussion was immediately fruitful in concrete suggestions for a more effective interchange of news and propaganda material between the peace movement here and in the United States and for a plan whereby fuller use would be made of the foreign visits of individual peace workers in strengthening contacts between the movements in the various countries.

These proposals are to be given immediate consideration by the Executive Committee of the National Peace Council.

The Bishop of Chelmsford (DR. HENRY WILSON) has been re-elected President of the National Peace Council. DAME ELIZABETH CADBURY, DR. C. E. M. JOAD, and MR. F. C. WOODS (of the Union of Post Office Workers) have been elected Treasurer, Chairman, and Vice-Chairman respectively.

At its recent Annual Meeting the Council accepted an application for affiliation from Federal Union.

American Contacts

FOLLOWING up the suggestion made by

PAUL HARRIS before he returned to the United States recently, the Guildhouse Fellowship Peace Group is arranging to co-operate with him in putting individual pacifists in this country in touch with individuals in America, in an endeavour to be mutually helpful by personal correspondence and/or the passing on of *Peace News*.

PAUL HARRIS points out that pacifism in the United States is less advanced than English people are apt to believe. In his opinion, however, many people there are now ready for it and would be interested and helped by having news of the movement in this country. He suggested that it would be profitable for individual pacifists in this country to write to someone in America for a limited period—say, three months.

Will those interested please write at once to BETTY POOLE, 14 Endsleigh Gardens, W.C.1, stating whether they want to correspond or are just willing to send on *Peace News* each week.

H.S.M.



Work Camps at Home and Abroad

OPPORTUNITIES FOR FELLOWSHIP WITH WORKLESS AND PEOPLE OF OTHER NATIONS

Heavy Sentences on Peasant Objectors

SEVERE sentences on many members of the Nazarenes, a religious sect in Yugoslavia, who refused military service, are reported in the summer number of *The War Resister*.

The sect contains between thirty and forty thousand men. They are simple peasants who take their religion seriously, and after the War they came into conflict with the newly created State because they refused to take up arms under compulsory military service or to sign an oath and give a promise of loyalty to the King.

The authorities persuaded some of the newer members to sign the oath and to refuse only the oral promise. They were then entered on the lists as Neo-Nazarenes. This caused a split in the sect, since older members made no compromise and had often gone to prison for refusing to serve.

There is still a large number of them in prison.

Some years ago the War Resisters' International was able to obtain the release of 112 men, as well as the release of all the Adventist war-resisters imprisoned in Rumania.

(*The War Resister* is published by the WRI at 11 Abbey Road, Enfield, Middlesex; annual subscription: 1s. 2d.)

Nazis Cannot Split Czech Solidarity

GERMAN attempts to split Czech national unity are reported to be failing. Despite hindrances placed in the way of their work, the authority of the Government and of the National Unity Party has not been weakened.

Some members of the Government are believed to be using a firm tone to the German authorities.

Meanwhile the latter are also disappointed with the various fascist groups in the former Czech State which are not enthusiastic supporters of the Nazis.

German Pastor's Plea for Unity

Addressing an East Barnet meeting last week on the Peace Movement in Germany, Pastor Alfred Schultes said the tragedy of the peace forces in Germany, as in this country, was their disunity. He pleaded for greater collaboration on the points on which most progressive societies were united, such as the necessity for a World Conference. "Is it not a tribute to us that no British statesman dares openly to advocate a policy which embodies the certainty of war in its programme?" he asked. "All keep their position only by promising peace, by one method or another."

Pastor Schultes declared that there was more real Christianity in Germany today than ever before. Churches which had the courage to preach the unadulterated Christian message were filled to overflowing, and when they were shut by the authorities great crowds met and worshipped outside.

FOR many years teams from schools and colleges, and casually-gathered groups of friends, have been spending their holidays in camps abroad where they work side by side with people of other nationalities and so help to cultivate international friendship.

At home, too, increasing numbers have been going to work camps, where they help disabled unemployed men with digging on allotments, and so on.

The teams are billeted wherever possible in the homes of the people whom they go to help. In England they pay 3s. 6d. a day as paying guests. In this way a first-hand knowledge is obtained of the conditions under which the unemployed live.

More teams are urgently needed to help unemployed groups, and for similar work, both in this country and abroad.

Where Help is Needed

The following enterprises, in particular, may be mentioned:

Denmark, August 1 to 10: Work on a co-operative farm for unemployed men. Write to John S. Hoyland, Woodbrooke, Birmingham, 29.

France, until August 30: Work for an international community. Write to F. Sanger, St. John's College, Cambridge. Also work for a refugees' colony in the Pyrenees. Write to E. Finch, Merton College, Oxford.

Ireland, any time: Work for peasant farmers. Write to John S. Hoyland, Woodbrooke, Birmingham, 29.

Italy, August: Work on a path up the lower slopes of Mont Blanc, in co-operation with a community of mountain guides. Write to G. V. Morris, Brynaston School, Blandford, Dorset.

Germany, August: Help for a youth hostel. Write to G. Heath, Trevelyan House, Welwyn Garden City, Herts.

Great Britain, any time: Teams needed for the purposes mentioned above and other similar enterprises (especially bracken-cutting in the Highlands). There is also need for women's teams as, in addition to land work of various kinds, they can help usefully in people's homes. Write to John S. Hoyland, Work Camp Clearing House, Woodbrooke Settlement, Birmingham, 29.

A Work Camp on the Move

An experiment in the sphere of work camps was tried recently—that of taking from place to place, by car, a small working party.

This was joined in the centres visited by parties of students and others. The combined teams stayed in the homes of unemployed families, as paying guests, and worked on the allotments and small-holdings of disabled unemployed men.

"In this manner a certain amount of useful work has been done on behalf of the men helped," said John Hoyland, in describing the experiment to *Peace News*.

"A great deal of invaluable information regarding the conditions under which the unemployed and the under-paid live has also been gained by the visitors at first hand."

"Our numbers varied greatly from place to place. On one occasion, in Scotland, there were only three of us. At one place in Lancashire and another in South Wales there were perhaps forty working together in all. The work done was not confined to digging. We also worked on a large sheep farm, building pens for ewes; and the women members of the team helped on various occasions in domestic concerns."

"We started from Woodbrooke; there were three carloads of us; we worked first at three places in South Wales, then at one in the Midlands, one in Lancashire, two in Scotland, one in West Cumberland, one in Lancashire again, and one in the South Yorkshire coalfield."

With the Unemployed

"Certain experiences stand out vividly. We watched, in pouring rain, a company of some fifty ragged unemployed men started off with a whistle, by a petty capitalist who had leased a refuse tip and sublet to them the right to gather waste coal on it."

"From the starting point they ran clumsily forward, each with his sack, in eager haste to

Unions Will Boycott Compulsory Register in Australia

A STRONG line against the compulsory National Register in Australia is being taken by the Australian trade union movement, as a result of which thousands are expected to refuse to sign the register.

A conference of federal trade unions, called by the Australian Council of Trade Unions, last week authorized the latter body and the State trades and labour councils to organize a boycott of the Register for those unions willing to take part in it.

Industrial Action

It also endorsed a decision that key unions should take industrial action if members are penalized for refusing to sign the National Register.

Unions opposed to the boycott may, however, abstain from taking part in it.

The Federal Labour Party is opposed to the boycott, so the Labour movement is split on this issue.

Commenting on the trade unions' decision, Mr. Menzies, Australian Premier, declared that the Government would insist on obedience to the law.

The Premier agreed early this week to meet representatives of the Australian Council and Trade Unions and the Parliamentary Labour Party, in Melbourne today (Friday).

The ACTU wants legislative form given to certain assurances given in a recent letter from the Minister of Defence.

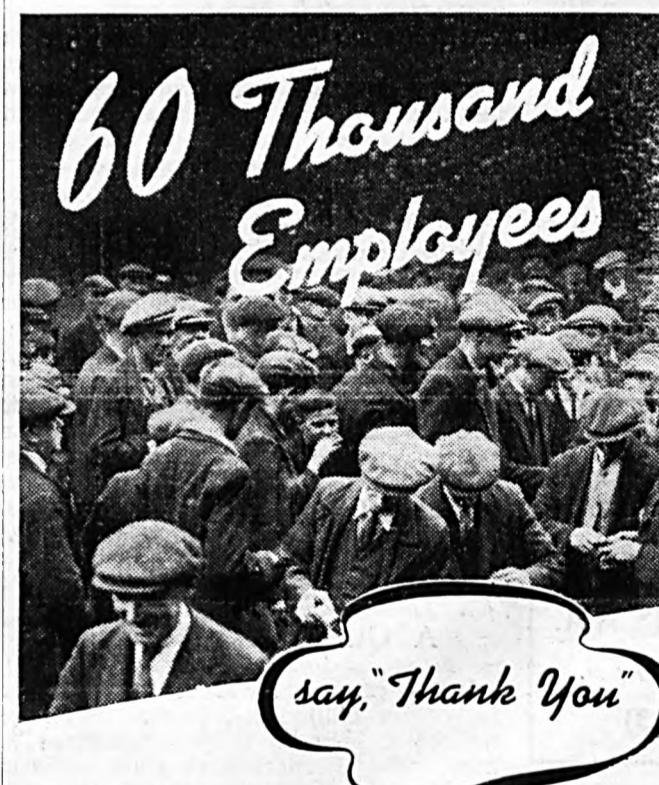
In this letter the Minister stated that the National Register Act created no new obligation of military service under the Defence Act, did not empower the Government to compel enlistment in the military forces for service in industrial establishments, or abolish the individual's right of contract concerning the nature and place of his employment.

Pacifists' Campaign

In the State of Victoria, Christian pacifists have been advised by Christian Pacifist Movement to endorse their papers with some such declaration as:

"Being by firm conviction a Christian pacifist, I have conscientious scruples against war and against all preparation for war. I could never, in any circumstances, engage in any form of service whatever under military discipline or control."

The Christian Pacifist Movement in Victoria is now launching a big propaganda campaign.



WHEELWRIGHTS, electricians, moulders, spinners, tailors, jam-boilers, tobacco-workers, weavers, woodworkers . . . nearly sixty thousand of these C.W.S. employees will again draw their usual full trade-union wages at the end of this week—thanks to you.

They'll greet the coming week with an enviable sense of security based on the knowledge that their conditions of work are second to none in the country, that no spectre of unemployment threatens their happiness. Again

thanks to you. Your support of C.W.S. products, which you buy regularly through your local Co-operative Society, ensures these things. Because the C.W.S. exists "to serve, and not to extract profit from, the people."

A NATIONAL INSTITUTION
C.W.S.

WITH AN INTERNATIONAL REPUTATION
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27th in our "Speaking Personally" series :

J. D. BERESFORD : Why We Don't Revolt Against War . . .

WHEN I am invited to write an article about peace, my first response is always the feeling that I have been asked to flog a willing horse. Having for thirty years at least been so completely convinced that war is utterly stupid, useless and wicked (all wickedness is ultimately stupid and useless), I find it difficult to believe that any sane person can disagree with me.

Then I remember that Allen Upward in *The New Word* (the word was "idealism"), said that anyone who could no longer argue freely about a thing was mad so far as that thing was concerned, and I am constrained to argue freely if only to avoid the charge of fanaticism, since fanaticism is often a form of madness.

If I were asked to say in as few words as possible why I am a pacifist, my answer would be, "Because I prefer happiness to misery, pleasure to pain, love to hate, and life to death." And I cannot see why even an Archbishop should disagree with me in that. And if he replied that it might be my duty to sacrifice all my preferences for the sake of an ethical or national cause, I should point out to him that in this thing the overwhelming majority of the human race have the same preferences as myself, and that I could think of no cause which would justify me in helping to plunge them into misery, pain, hatred and death.

The Minority

As to the minority, I suspect most of them of insincerity. When they tell me that we must all be prepared to make sacrifices, I wonder whether they, too are prepared to face misery, pain and death, or whether they won't leave all that part of

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KNOWLEDGE IS POWER

it to us while they increase their profits in blissful security? I believe, in fact, that their choice of alternatives is the same as mine, but that they don't care a fig what happens to me and the rest of the majority.

But there are some people who, having been educated and trained to believe in the virtues of war from their youth up, are happily impervious to reason, and if you offered them my choice of alternatives would evade the issue by talking of duty, honour and national responsibilities.

Well, personally, I feel that our duty should be towards humanity as a whole rather than towards a particular group that happens to speak the same language, and that therefore our honour and responsibility should be engaged on behalf of the many rather than the few. But your Woolwich or Sandhurst cadet can't be expected to feel like that. Indeed, many people apparently find it difficult to believe that the members of another race, Jews and Japanese, for instance, can be quite human.

*

IT is not, however, the opinions of military and naval officers, or of England's four million rich that should decide the issue of peace and war, but the voice of the people who outnumber them in the proportion of ten to one. And since we cannot doubt that they would vote with me when asked to make the various choices I have indicated, we must find a reason for the fact that they have not so far risen up at the threat of war (last September, for instance), and declared themselves passionately in favour of happiness, love and life rather than misery, hate and death.

The chief reason is that most of them are the victims of an obsession. From their earliest childhood they have been taught the things proper to their station, such things having been agreed upon by Church, State and the four million.

There is no need to give a prospectus of the teaching that puts our forty-three million in chains from the time they have learnt to speak. The moral to be found in all its lessons is that existing conditions cannot be improved upon, that independent thinking is foolish and dangerous, that any change will be for the worse, and generally that all sociological, economic and political problems were solved by an earlier generation. The obsession that derives from this education is that it is safest to think and do what you have been taught, that is to say as everyone else thinks and does.

A Question of Choice

In this matter of war, for instance, our forty-three million believe that they have no choice between those alternatives of mine. The alternatives they are asked to consider are whether or not we can go on letting Hitler and Mussolini and the Mikado do exactly what they like, annexing this, that and the other, to the peril, so they have been taught, of the British Empire which, so they have been taught again, (most sedulously in this case), is the greatest and most glorious institution the world have ever known, and peculiarly worth fighting for at the cost of personal happiness, love and life.

Also they have been taught that democracy stands for freedom, and the various forms of totalitarianism for slavery.

And since these ideas have been impressed so persistently and so forcibly on the minds of the forty-three million, nearly all of them respond with the regularity of

"There is no need to give a prospectus of the teaching that puts our forty-three million in chains from the time they have learnt to speak. The moral to be found in all its lessons is that existing conditions cannot be improved upon, that independent thinking is foolish and dangerous, that any change will be for the worse, and generally that all sociological, economic and political problems were solved by an earlier generation.

"The obsession that derives from this education is that it is safest to think and do what you have been taught, that is to say as everyone else thinks and does."

So writes J. D. Beresford in the first of his two articles in our series "Speaking Personally," in which he examines the reasons why the people "have not so far risen up at the threat of war and declared themselves passionately in favour of happiness, love and life rather than misery, hate and death."

a conditioned reflex to such stimuli as Englishman, British Empire, Freedom, Democracy, apparently without a thought as to whether having died for them, anyone will be particularly benefited.

Why, in the name of Glory, is it sweet and proper to die for one's country? Who among the survivors are the better for it? The few who have exploited us and made a financial profit out of our agonies? Or are we to congratulate ourselves that our pain and death will serve the great cause of freedom and save the noble Britons who are left from the ignominy of foreign rule?

*

FREEDOM? I wonder. How far will this boasted democracy of ours differ from dictatorship in case of another war? Shan't we all, in that eventuality, be conscripted and regimented with the same rigour as any Fascist or Bolshevik community?

There will be a difference, no doubt. Our dictators will be comparatively inexperienced, and can't be expected to make as good a job of it as Hitler or Mussolini. The *ad hoc* machinery we improvise will not run with the same fluency as that which has been thoroughly tested and perfected in the years of peace. And we shall, in effect, be ruled by an amateur dictator who is no more than a figure-head, and can't be expected to do as well as the professional who has made regimentation his life-study.

Shan't we then suffer all the ills of Fascism and be in peril of reaping none of its benefits? Honestly, I fail to see that we are likely to gain much by fighting for the idea of democracy while we are actually employing the methods of totalitarianism.

Patriotism

As to being an Englishman, and I have as good a claim as anyone in the British Isles to that title, it is well enough, but I should not have thought so if I had happened to be born and educated in some other country. So why, because of this accident of birth into a particular nationality, should I choose those second grievous alternatives, offer myself up to affliction and death in order to prove that my country and people are better than someone else's?

As a matter of fact, I do not think they are. I lived for four years in France and found many admirable qualities in the French people; while on many occasions I had cause to blush for the ignorance and courtesy of my fellow-countrymen.

But it will take a long time to get ideas of this sort into the minds of those who have been drilled to believe the "dulce et decorum est pro patria mori" fallacy.

Tolstoi, in an essay on Patriotism and Government, written in 1900, says "every man and every homogeneous group of men, on whatever level they may stand, having behind them the worn-out remembrances of the past, and before them the ideals of the future, are always in a state of struggle between the moribund ideas of the present and the ideas of the future that are coming to life." And what we peace-lovers have to do is to accelerate to the very best of our ability the enormously protracted labour of bringing these new ideas into the world. Of the means to the ultimate accomplishment of that delivery, I shall treat in my second article.

Pat McCormick Inspires Gift to Our Brick Fund

A MEMBER of the Peace Pledge Union who wishes to remain anonymous has sent £2 to the PPU's Brick Fund, "as the result of hearing that poor saint, the Rev. Pat McCormick, plead on the wireless that we must do evil that good may come."

(An open letter to Pat McCormick, based upon this broadcast, appears on page 6 of this issue.)

Is this an inducement to others to do likewise?

The Brick Fund grew out of a suggestion by Laurence Housman at the opening of Dick Sheppard House, new PPU headquarters, that every PPU member should "be a brick" and help to pay for the house by sponsoring one of the 124,000 bricks of which it is built.

Up to Wednesday morning,

12,400

bricks had been sponsored—just one-tenth of those of which the house is built.

Was yours among them? If not, Frank B. Middleton, accountant of the PPU, will be glad to receive your contribution at Dick Sheppard House, 6 Endsleigh Street, London, W.C.1.

Mock Tribunal Helps Leeds C.O.s

A MOCK Tribunal was held by the Leeds branch of the No Conscription League last week. Four conscientious objectors, consisting of a member of the Peace Pledge Union, a Quaker, a Socialist, and a member of the Four Square Gospel Church, volunteered to state their case before the tribunal, which consisted of four conscientious objectors of the 1914 to 18 period.

Only one objector was "granted" complete exemption, the others either had their cases rejected or were ordered to do work of "national importance," but it was felt that the young men had benefited greatly by having to give their views in public and to answer questions fired at them by the tribunal.

N.C.L. Branch for Wood Green

Arrangements are now in hand for the formation of a Wood Green branch of the No Conscription League. Mr. Percy H. Williams, 22 Palmerston Road, Wood Green, London, N.22, would be glad to hear from anyone in Wood Green and surrounding districts, who are not already served, who would like to be informed of its formation when it occurs.

(Other Conscription News, p. 7)

PEACE YEAR BOOK NOW READY

THE 1939 Edition of the *Peace Year Book* is now available from the National Peace Council, 39 Victoria Street, London, S.W.1, price 1s.

Owing to the lateness of publication of the 1938 Year Book and the preoccupation of the National Peace Council with the National Petition for a new Peace Conference, this year's edition is shorter than usual. It is as good value as ever, however, for the price is only half that of last year's edition.

Articles of a general character and certain information appearing in the 1938 Year Book, which required little or no revision, have been omitted from the present edition. But the directories of peace organizations in all parts of the world, the record of peace publications, and the facts relating to armaments, trade, colonial and other questions, have been brought up to date.

Teachers and A.R.P. in Schools

The question of ARP as it touches teachers was discussed at last week's meeting of the London Teachers' Group. It appeared that some education authorities had already ordered gas mask drill to take place in the schools.

It was pointed out that there were provisions for those teachers who refused to give this instruction. The main difficulty was to determine the form which a protest should take.

Some members present at the meeting asked that too much time should not be spent on what was only a symptom, but their energy should be devoted to attacking the policy which made such precautions seem necessary. The attitude of each teacher to such problems was a personal one determined by the individual and the circumstances.

Dr. Graham Howe addressed the meeting on "Education for Peace" and pleaded for consideration of the individual in education. Education, he said, was too much an affair of the head and not enough of the heart. They did not consider the feelings, the intuitions or the sensations of their pupils and this bred irreligious cynics.

Coffins For All!

THE Coffin - for - Everybody Patriotic League" is the title of an "organization" appearing on leaflets now being distributed in France. Headed "A Shameful Oversight," the leaflets declare:

"Owing to the 60-hour week, we shall have millions of guns, millions of submarines, millions of planes.

"But everything has not been provided for.

"Even though the thousands of cattle-trucks needed to carry the soldiers have not been forgotten, nobody has so far thought of the millions of coffins which will be used to bring them back.

"This neglect is incomprehensible for, according to the poet, 'Those who piously die for their country have a right to expect that the crowd will come and pray at their coffin.'

"The religious sepulchre and the coffin are a right! 'You shall not march without your coffin!'

Another satirical leaflet circulating in France purports to have been published by the "National Committee to Encourage Mortality!"

More Bureaux To Aid C.O.s

FOLLOWING are the latest additions and amendments to the lists of advisory bureaux already published in "Peace News." Any similar changes should be sent to the National Advisory Bureau, at Dick Sheppard House, 6 Endsleigh Street, London, W.C.1, and NOT to "Peace News."

BEDFORD. A. G. Lawrence, 8 Rosamond Road, Bedford.

BRIXTON. Miss Thomas, Ty-gwyn, Lower Rea Road, Brixton.

COLWYN BAY. R. A. Bird, Runnymede, Colwyn Bay.

EWELL. J. E. Beams, 4 Cottage Road, West Ewell, Surrey.

HUDDERSFIELD. H. H. Hudson, PPU Room, 19 John William Street, Huddersfield.

KILMARNOCK. Mrs. Subi White, 71 London Road, Kilmarock.

LEICESTER. J. V. C. Anthony, 8 Kirby Road, Leicester.

LEICESTER. G. Brownless, 7 Salisbury Road, Leicester.

MAIDSTONE. F. H. Ware, 27 Buckland Hill, Maidstone.

SOUTHAMPTON (2nd Bureau). H. E. Lush, 26 Bridlington Avenue, Southampton.

SUNBURY-ON-THAMES AND DISTRICT. W. G. Millman, 10 Croysdale Avenue, Sunbury-on-Thames.

WORCESTER. J. R. Jenkins, Oldbury Grange, Lower Broadheath, near Worcester.

P.P.U. and British People's Party

IT was reported at the Executive meeting of the Peace Pledge Union last week that difficulties had arisen among groups and members owing to the connexion (through Ben Greene) between the British People's Party and the Peace and Progressive Information Service.

There was a feeling, it was stated, that because the Peace Pledge Union had helped Ben Greene, a PPU member, to launch the information service, the PPU must have some connexion with the party.

The Executive decided to make it known that although the PPU had brought the original proposal of the information service to the notice of its members, it had now no responsibility for it, and that in any case the new party was in no way supported by or associated with the Peace Pledge Union.

On the instruction of the National Council to set up a Finance Committee, the Executive appointed Dr. Alex. Wood, Dr. Alfred Salter, Charles Baldwin, and the Chairman, Treasurer, and Accountant to serve.

It was decided to make the following recommendations to the National Council: 1. That a list of 24 names be approved as sponsors of the PPU; 2. That no PPU diary may be issued this year; 3. That a statement of the PPU's attitude to white poppies be made.

Will Threats Stop Hitler?

HAROLD NICOLSON'S CASE EXAMINED

WHEN writing to the Prime Minister recently, outlining the constructive proposals of the Peace Pledge Union, Leicester PPU group sent a copy of their letter to the Hon. Harold Nicolson, MP for West Leicester.

Mr. Nicolson's reply is an excellent example of the reply which pacifists meet today and of the argument that the "peace-loving nations" must first convince Germany of their power before offering to discuss any grievances. We accordingly print it below, together with an answer from a pacifist viewpoint by William J. Lyon. Mr. Lyon has many contacts in Germany, both through his business and his visits to that country.

By Harold Nicolson

I HAVE no doubt at all that if we could only establish contact with the ordinary man and woman in Germany a great advance would be made towards a peaceful solution of present difficulties. The BBC broadcasts in German (to which I listen frequently) are to my mind absolutely admirable, and I hear from my German friends that they are producing a real effect.

I fear, however, that under the present German system the wishes and desires of reasonable people have but little effect upon the decisions of their rulers. It is not only that the dictators of Germany have suppressed all free discussion or expression of opinion but it is also (and far more dangerously) that they have imposed upon their children and young men a deliberate belief that war is a noble as distinct from a degrading function of men.

We in this country are so pacific in temperament, and to some extent so easy-going that we cannot bring ourselves to realize that Hitler and his gang are definitely out to dominate Europe and the world by forceful methods.

The German Character

I beg you and your co-signatories to believe that I have devoted much of my life to the study of the German character and to the horrible interpretation of that character which Herr Hitler gives. Their human and moral values are so low that the only thing which will restrain them from violence is the realization that violence will not succeed.

Those of us who have realized this fact from the outset and have tried to warn our countrymen that we are not dealing with reasonable but with semi-insane people, have been branded as "warmongers." Even if I took a purely personal view of the problem, I think you will agree that a man who has only two children, both of whom are young men of military age, cannot possibly desire war.

It is merely because I am convinced that only by force can we restrain these criminal lunatics that I have advocated from the outset that "collective security" is no mere phrase but represents a resolute determination on the part of the pacific people to resist the violence of the aggressor countries.

Conference—Later

I should be prepared, once we have fortified our position by bringing Russia into the coalition, and once we have made it quite clear by so doing that violence has no chance of success, to advocate an international conference for the redressing of all grievances. I think that at such a conference we should be prepared to make considerable economic and even territorial sacrifices.

But I am profoundly convinced that until Herr Hitler realizes that he has no chance of success by violent methods we shall not be able to make him see reason as regards conciliation. I have a feeling that once Hitler is made to understand that he will fail if he takes the part of the satan of war, he may suddenly change and appear in the guise of the angel of peace.

In other words, I quite expect that he may, if we can maintain our present position (which is doubtful) throughout 1939, himself suggest a conference for the adjustment of grievances. I think it should be a condition of our accepting such a conference that both the United States and Russia should be represented.

And I believe that we might be able, thus buttressed and reinforced, to recreate a real League of Nations under which international law is more powerful and effective than international anarchy.

By William J. Lyon

IN fairness to Harold Nicolson, one must assume that he realizes the gap between the average decent German and his government, a gap with which we are familiar in our own country.

In a long article in a Swiss newspaper, a correspondent mentions the great concern and anger of Hitler at the apathy and lack of enthusiasm shown by the German conscript army and by their slackness and cynical indifference when marching into Memel.

It is fatally easy to generalize, and it gives a moral gloss to preparations for meeting violence with violence, if one convinces oneself that, after all, violence is the only thing the potential enemy understands. Hitler won over the German people with that doctrine, and Lord Londonderry has just added point to it by saying that he would like more use to be made of a "full-blooded" doctrine, not that we are "easy-going," but that "we are determined to dominate the world on the lines we believe are right and correct."

Mr. Nicolson will surely not deny that it is only since Hitler came into power that the question of redressing grievances has received any consideration at all. Mr. Nicolson agrees with the redressing of grievances, but postpones it until we have "fortified our position by bringing Russia into the coalition."

It should be quite apparent that if Russia ever does come in, and our present Government feels itself once more free to "dominate the world as it thinks right and correct," the question of redressing grievances will once more fall into the background, as did the question of the rights of minorities before Hitler, for his own purposes, brought them into the light of day.

Apparently Mr. Nicolson thinks that an alliance to "crush Prussian militarism" and to "make the world safe for democracy" will have different results in 1939 from 1914. Which shows that experience, far from teaching fools, does not always teach those whom one would hesitate to describe as fools.

It requires, however, more imagination than I possess, to imagine the present rulers in Russia, who remember that it was the last war which paved the way for revolution, entering into another war in support of British and French imperialism, the result of which might be their own downfall.

TO TODAY'S YOUTH . . .

From an Old Contemperable

I SHOULD like young men to ask themselves and find out the correct answer to these questions:

1. What are the causes of war?
2. Who causes war?
3. What do you fight for, when you are ordered so to do by statesmen?
4. What benefits do the common people get out of war?

5. How does it come to be, that when the British Legion, which has the names of 100,000 of the Great War ex-servicemen of all ranks, ruined physically and mentally, and existing on charity and Poor Law relief, sent a deputation to the Prime Minister some months ago with a view to getting justice by way of pensions for these men, they were turned away empty-handed?

6. How do the majority of Ministers of Religion square war and war preparations with the teachings of Jesus Christ?

I hope and trust that all the young men who are in the Peace Pledge Union will stand firm and not take any notice of scoffing and insults. They are the pioneers of the new world to be reborn. Their number may be small, but remember that "Big trees from little acorns grow."

As one who was spared to return from the 1914 to 18 blood bath, I know that they are right, and I have the courage to say so and assist them. Millions more who were spared to return know it also, but they have not all got the courage to say so.

If war comes it will be, as in 1914 to 18, a war between rival capitalist interests, and those who are wounded in that war will get no better treatment than the 100,000 I have mentioned.

I know, and the PPU knows, that all disputes between individuals and nations can be settled otherwise than by the use of force. Also that "Where there's a will, there's a way." I am proud to say that the PPU and its allied organizations are the only ones who are working to make true the words of the war-time poem: "If ye break faith with us who die we shall not sleep though poppies blow in Flanders Fields."

Those men died believing they were fighting to make the world safe from future wars. Thank God that the numbers of those who realize that war settles nothing are growing.

Finally I say to all who are conscientious objectors, "Stand firm and God bless you."

Quaker Peace Camp

A Quaker Peace Camp is now being held at Carkle Camp, Perranarworthal, Truro, and will end on Thursday, July 27. Open-air meetings are being held in surrounding villages and small towns. All interested would be welcomed at the camp.

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IN TROUBLous TIMES

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Subscription Rates: Quarterly: 2s. 9d. Yearly: 10s. 6d. THE PEACE PLEDGE UNION welcomes all who accept the pacifist doctrine, no matter what their approach. Its activity is not confined to the registration of those who are opposed to war but promotes and encourages a constructive peace policy. Members are attached to local groups designed to achieve a communal peace mentality and extend the influence of pacifism by propaganda and personal example. Give your pledge on a postcard:

I renounce war and I will never support or sanction another

Sign this, add your address, and send the card to the Peace Pledge Union, 6 Endsleigh Street, London, W.C.1.

July 21, 1939.

The Editor's Point of View

A QUESTION OF CONFIDENCE

THIS week's news serves to throw light on the meaning of the Government's now famous "dual policy" of "readiness" to negotiate and determination to meet force with force.

Our commentator this week describes (on the back page) the biggest display of force which this country has given for a very long time. *The Times* on Tuesday published this from its Berlin correspondent:

Whether the status of the Free City be settled by negotiation, or within the framework of a far more ambitious attempt to bring about a general settlement agreeable to Germany by one means or another, both responsible Germans and those who know only what they read in the papers profess to believe that the Danzig question, important though it is to the Reich, would never be made the issue for a trial of strength—nervous or physical—with the Western Powers. Less than a week before, the same paper commented editorially:

It [the Danzig question] can be settled—and settled easily—by co-operation. It cannot be settled by domination. For co-operation to be effective a greater measure of confidence must be established than at present exists between the European nations.

Yet nothing whatever is done by this country to seek such a peaceful settlement.

★

On the contrary, while our Government spokesmen say plenty about their "readiness" to negotiate, all their actions prove their readiness to use force.

Perhaps the most blatant example was the big step forward in our armaments immediately after Mr. Chamberlain had signed the agreement with Herr Hitler to settle all problems between their countries by consultation.

And now Mr. Chamberlain's speech, which might have made it (in the words of *The Times*, again) "just a little easier for reason to be heard and for confidence to grow," has been immediately followed by a spectacular flight of 100 bombers over France—to show where else they might have flown.

★

This latest act, the Berlin correspondent of *The Times* assures us, "has caused more annoyance in the Reich than any English action—as distinct from speech—in recent months." And remember that it is our actions that speak louder than our words.

How can anyone possibly expect such actions to produce the confidence which is admitted by Mr. Chamberlain, as well as by his supporters, to be essential for the negotiations which are supposed to be part of Mr. Chamberlain's policy? Is not the obvious fact that they cannot produce confidence sufficient proof that the so-called dual policy is impossible?

What, then, is expected of that policy? It would be interesting to hear the answers of some of its supporters—your MP, for instance.

Even more important is to know how long this impossible process is expected to go on—how long, indeed, it can go on, and whether it can result in anything but disaster.

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One thing is certain: that the longer it goes on the more intolerable will it become. And yet, from the Government's point of view, the more necessary will it be for it to be tolerated by the people.

That, undoubtedly, is the consideration behind the whole system of "civil defence." The safer people are made to feel in war time the more likely are they to tolerate a policy that may end in war.

Moreover, the more people can be involved in the actual machinery of the policy of meeting force with force—the more, that is, their interest is vested in the war machine—the less can they (let alone will they) oppose that policy. And now that conscription has been tolerated, the principle of forcing the people into that position has been established for use as persuasion becomes more difficult.

The way to end that policy and to ensure that instead something is done about a peaceful settlement is therefore (as "The Plain Man" suggests on another page this week) becoming more, rather than less, for individuals to renounce war and all its works for themselves.

Humphrey S. Moore

An Open Letter to The Rev. Pat McCormick

EAR Pat McCormick,—I was extremely sorry to hear your sermon preached from the pulpit of St. Martin-in-the-Field and broadcast by the BBC on Sunday, July 9.

The statement that the "State may have to choose between two evils, and a Christian may thus have to take part in war" is a compromise with the devil. The centre of Christ's teaching is love and personal sacrifice, whereas the duty of a soldier, sailor, or air force man, is to learn to kill: to bayonet, bomb, burn, smash, poison, destroy by high explosives, gas, or starvation.

How will the non-Christian ever know what Christianity really stands for, if he sees professing Christians bombing the women and children of another country?

You seem to imagine that the State has prior claim on a Christian—this is not so; God has prior claim. The State is merely a man-made method of causing and keeping barriers between men. God's will is the brotherhood of all men.

If you argue that it may be right for Christians in a State to engage in the bestiality of modern warfare to preserve the interest of their own State, then you should argue also that it may be right for an individual Christian to engage in sin for his own personal interest or pleasure: if the State can decide its own interests, and can take the admittedly evil step of war to maintain its privileges, whether economic or political, then the individual, by the same argument, can decide his own interests and can sometimes steal, lie, cheat, bear false witness, wound, murder, commit adultery, &c.—of course, you do not agree that an individual can take this line and still remain a Christian? Nor do I.

I believe that it is right for a Christian only to live to the standard of Christ, based on forgiveness and love and self-sacrifice, and that a State should, if it claims to be Christian, as ours does, sacrifice its prestige based on armed force, its imperial, economic, and political privileges, for the sake of showing how the love of mankind and of God can destroy enmity and remove the causes of war.

★

YOUR argument that "pacifism is only the method of the future, not of today," destroys the message of all your preaching.

You argue that we cannot be true Christians in the present-day world but only in a Christian world—if men do not uncompromisingly live up to the standard of Christ, we shall never get a Christian world. If we all hesitate to live true Christian lives just because everybody is not a Christian, or to become pacifists because it is not popular, and because others are not pacifists, then we shall never create either a Christian world or a warless world.

Jesus lived in a conquered country—the State had lost military prestige, economic and political privileges, yet He was not a bit concerned with the question of destroying the Roman conqueror, but only with the question of converting all men to Christianity by love, forgiveness, and self-sacrifice.

You know that imperialism, and the present economic system of private gain rather than service for the good of all, are the chief causes of modern war. You know that the psychological causes are based on un-Christian motives, and that even if you are not fighting for your own State's interests, but to protect the innocent people of a small State, the method of warfare means destroying the innocent people of another State, and does not remove the vital causes of the dispute. Injustice cannot be made justice by warfare.

Be brave, take the way of Christ—even if it brings you into conflict with your own State, you will no longer be in conflict with God, and His will must come first for a Christian.

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HOW will God's work be done by warfare? (Think of it—50,000,000 Europeans killed, chiefly civilians, and finally the certainty of revolution all over Europe). A Christian's duty is to refuse to co-operate with war or war preparations, and instead to concentrate on the positive work of removing the causes of war.

There are not "Two evils only to choose from," there is always a right way as well. Not only war or injustice, but either war, injustice, or justice. Not war or sacrifice of Czechoslovakia only, at Munich, but war, sacrifice of the Czechs, or sacrifice of some of the economic privileges of Great Britain.

The sacrifice of Czechoslovakia by Chamberlain was shameful; war would have been evil and a thousand times worse; but sacrifice of our own riches would have been the way of Christ.

Forgive my taking up your time on this question, but it is of supreme importance that you take up a position free from compromise with evil, if you hope to lead men and women to Christ.

War is murder! A Christian must move only by love for his fellowmen. War means hate, lying, loss of liberty of conscience and worship, cruelty, slaughter of innocent women and their babies, destruction of Christians, loss of self-respect, immorality, and a lowering of every standard of civilization and Christianity.

If the Church were united against war, and refused

to sanction it, war would disappear. Condemn and reject it, Pat! Support the Peace Pledge Union, Dick Sheppard's living memorial. Follow the way of the Cross and of Jesus Christ, and help us to end war by refusing to have anything to do with it, and by giving all your time, not to justifying the horrors of modern war, but to removing the causes of war.

Yours sincerely,

SIDNEY GEORGE CONBEER

An Anthology of Peace and War

Arranged by Vincent Long

T. HOWARD SOMERVELL

ONE day I went for a short walk on the battlefield. I sat down to rest on a sandbag. Just in front of me was a lad asleep, looking very ill—sallow skin—quite still. My God he's not breathing! He's dead!

I sat there for half-an-hour gazing at that dead boy. About eighteen, I should say. He lay on his back, not mutilated, perhaps not dead many hours. Strange that, with corpses and bits of them strewing the ground for miles around, I should be so impressed by this one dead body. But so it was. For the moment he personified this madness called war. What did it mean to him? What were diplomacy, national relationships, commercial interests, to him? Why should he be cut off before really tasting the joys and hardships and glories of life? And he was just one out of tens of thousands. Who killed him? The politicians, the High Command, the merchants and financiers, or who? Christian nations had killed him by being unchristian. That seemed to be the answer.

—After Everest

JAMES RUSSELL LOWELL

ES for war, I call it murder—
There you hev it plain and flat;
I don't want to go no furder
Than my Testymont fer that;
God hes said so, plump and fairly,—
It's es long es it is broad—
An' you've gut to git up airyly
Ef you want to take in God.
Taint your eppylets an' feathers
Make the thing a grain more right;
Taint afollerin' your bell-wethers
Will excuse ye in His sight.
Ef you take a sword an' dror it,
An' go stick a feller thru
Guv'ment aint to answer for it,
God'll send the bill to you.
Wut's the use o' meetin'-going
Every Sabbath, wet or dry,
Ef it's right to go a-mowin'
Feller-men—like oats and rye?
I dunno, but wut it's pooty
Trainin' round in bobtail coats,
But it's curus Christian duty
This 'ere cuttin' folks's throats.
I'll return ye good for evil
Much es we frail* mortils can;
But I wun't go help the Devil
Makin' man the cus o' man,
Call me coward, call me traitor,
Jest es suits your mean idees,
Here I stand a tyrant hater
An' the friend o' God an' Peace.
—Hosea Biglow Conscientiously Objects.

SIEGFRIED SASSOON

THE Bishop tells us: "When the boys come back They will not be the same; for they have fought In a just cause; they led the last attack On anti-Christ, their comrades' blood has bought New right to breed an honoured race They challenged Death, and dared him face to face."

"We're none of us the same!" the boys reply.
"For George lost both his legs; and Bill's stone blind;
Poor Jim's shot through the lungs and like to die;
And Bert's gone syphilitic; you'll not find
A chap who's served that hasn't found some change."
And the Bishop said: "The ways of God are strange."
—The Old Huntsman and other Poems

LADY MARGARET SACKVILLE

(To one who denies the possibility of a permanent Peace)

OLD friend, I greet you! you are still the same:
You poisoned Socrates, you crucified
Christ, you have persecuted, mocked, denied,
Rejected God and cursed Him—in God's name.
You gave monotonously to the flame
All those (whom now you honour) when the new
Truth stung their lips—for fear it might be true;
Then reaped where they had sown and felt no shame.

Familiar voice, old adversary—hail!
Yesterday's fools are now your gods. Behold!
The generations pass and we can wait.
You slandered Darwin, Florence Nightingale;
Now a new splendour quivers in the cold
Grey shadows overhead; still you are late.
—The Pageant of War

A Different Matter

GEORGE LANCASTER, 6, Kilblain Street, Greenock, received a summons from his Commander-in-Chief, Princess Louise, to join his unit (A. and S.H.) at camp.

Thirty minutes later George Lancaster, 6, Kilblain Street, Greenock, received a summons at the instance of Her Royal Highness, Princess Louise, to appear at Dumbarton County Court for trespass on Her Estate.

—New Leader.

How to Swell "P.N." Sales

PROOF of the value of suggestions for increasing the sales of *Peace News* which we have already given is contained in two letters received from readers. For the benefit of readers who have not already adopted these, or similar suggestions, we quote these two letters.

P. Duncan, an ex-territorial in Eire, writes:

"Every reader should hand his copy, when read, to some person who has never seen one, or post it to some friend. By such means will *Peace News* reach every house in the British Isles. I hand my copy to a different person each week."

Robert A. Murray, of Dundee, writes:

"I have followed up a suggestion made in a recent issue of your paper, namely to make oneself responsible for an extra copy at the newsagents each week. My newsagent was quite nice about it, and I as yet have not been called upon to meet the expense of any copy. Every week has seen the extra copy sold and several more inquiries from others upon seeing it set out on the counter.

"This is an excellent way to increase the sales of *Peace News*, and I urge that it be more widely tried by others who are able to do so."

Here is another way in which individual readers can help to gain us that wider circulation: send us the name and address of anyone to whom it would be worth while sending a specimen copy of *Peace News* and we will do so.

Use the form below, and if you want to send more than one name and address please attach a separate sheet of paper.

Meanwhile until a larger circulation has been achieved readers can help by sending contributions to our Fighting Fund.

The Fighting Fund was launched to help to release for some other branch of the Peace Pledge Union's work the subsidy at present paid to *Peace News* (This amounts to £750 for the current year.)

Donations of any size will be welcomed and acknowledged in *Peace News*. Cheques and postal orders should be made payable to *Peace News*, Ltd.—and not the Peace Pledge Union—and should be addressed to 3 Blackstock Road, London, N.4.

We are pleased to acknowledge the following contributions:

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Anon., in memory of Hugh Bingham ..	2 6
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Denros, Brentford	2 0
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Pimblett, Eccles	10 0
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Peace Pledge Union is Called "Pro-Nazi"

DAILY TELEGRAPH CENSORS CHAIRMAN'S REPLY

LEGATIONS that the Peace Pledge Union is being used as a channel for Nazi propaganda, made in a memorandum issued by the Research Department of the Economic League, were given prominence in the *Daily Telegraph* last week.

The charges were answered by Stuart D. Morris, chairman of the Peace Pledge Union, in a letter sent to the *Daily Telegraph*. When this letter was published on Saturday, however, certain important sections of it were omitted. We accordingly print below the letter in full.

The passages printed in heavy type are those which the *Daily Telegraph* omitted:

"I notice in the *Daily Telegraph* of Thursday, July 13, that you give publicity to a memorandum issued by the Research Department of the Economic League which contains an attack upon the Peace Pledge Union.

"You quote the memorandum as stating that in the *Peace Service Handbook* issued by the Peace Pledge Union "there are found several indications that this organization consciously or unconsciously has become a channel for Nazi propaganda." You go on to state that supporters are advised to correspond with a German organization and that frequent mention is made of the *Anglo-German Review*.

"The actual facts are as follows:

"The *Anglo-German Review* is mentioned once on page 18, in company with many other monthly publications and in connexion with a sub-section on study and the need of ascertaining the facts. In another sub-section headed International Friendship, which suggests that every individual contact made with a member of another nation makes for better understanding between those nations, the German organization 'Friendship League for cultivating Personal Friends Abroad' is mentioned together with the address of The Link in a list of twelve similar societies.

"The suggestion of writing to others is followed up by a suggestion of holidays abroad, and The Link is again mentioned in company with thirteen other organizations which do arrange such inexpensive holidays. So far as I am aware no other mention is made of any of the organizations referred to.

"Throughout the *Peace Service Handbook* the Peace Pledge Union gives the names and addresses of various organizations so obviously differing in their outlook that it would be impossible for the Peace Pledge Union to endorse the activities of all of them.

"If the point of view which is being officially proclaimed in Germany, however biased we may believe it to be, is to be understood, there is surely at least some advantage in having access to such official propaganda. Nothing more is suggested or implied in the *Handbook*, and to state that the Peace Pledge Union is allowing itself to be used for German propaganda is a distinct travesty of the actual facts.

"It is true that the Peace Pledge Union stands for a policy of peace through a political and economic adjustment, as opposed to the present alliance tactics, and the Economic League might well find itself in opposition to the Peace Pledge Union on this score.

"But let me say emphatically that the Peace Pledge Union is not a pro-Nazi or anti-Semitic organization. While we have endeavoured to show the causes of Fascism we have always condemned its philosophy and use of violence, whether towards the Jews or other peoples. One department of our work has involved the care of refugees from Germany and Czechoslovakia.

"It is our belief that the present policies cannot stop aggression but only make for an extension of Fascism, and that pacifism is not a way of condoning aggression but the only way of resisting it.

"For a Research Department to issue a memorandum without any real attempt to ascertain the actual facts of the situation seems to imply that the Economic League prefers this unfair method of trying to dis-

Blind Leading the Blind

A BILL has been tabled in the Italian Fascist Chamber, which contemplates the employment of the blind in wartime for the detection of enemy aircraft.

Experiments made by the naval authorities are reported to have shown that blind men display an aptitude much superior to that possessed by normal men in using special apparatus for detecting and locating aircraft in flight.

You Must Book TODAY for Harrogate!

TO-DAY is the last day on which booking can be received at Headquarters for the Peace Pledge Union Summer Camp at Pannal Ash College, Harrogate, from July 29 to August 8.

Allowance has been made for last-minute bookings so you still have a chance. The price is 10 days 50s., 1 week 37s. 6d., with special weekend prices.

Applications to John Barclay, Dick Shepard House, 6 Endsleigh Street, London, W.C.1.

U.S. Call for World Peace Conference

IN a broadcast talk from Boston, USA, Dr.

A. D. Belden said that preparation for modern war must be increasingly totalitarian, and if the democracies persisted in imitating this technique they would destroy the democratic sanction of the war when it came, and they would break up from within.

"We must find another way, and find it quickly," he said. "The time has come for World Conference leading on to Federal World-Control. Control that is, not by war-minded Governments, but by Governments shaped to the united will of the mass of common people everywhere. This vast arousal of public opinion needs a focus—that focus must be a World Conference to inaugurate a new policy of economic co-operation between the nations."

Mock Tribunal "Grills" Objectors

THE permanent Mock Tribunal recently set up by the Fellowship of Conscientious Objectors held its first sitting on Friday, when three young men immediately affected by the Military Training Act stated their case for exemption from the provisions of the Act. Two were successful in obtaining absolute exemption, but the third was only granted exemption on condition that he performed work "of National Importance."

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Nothing more is suggested or implied in the *Handbook*, and to state that the Peace Pledge Union is allowing itself to be used for German propaganda is a distinct travesty of the actual facts.

"Penalties for infringing the prohibition are a fine ranging from 1,000 to 10,000 francs, and terms of imprisonment of six months to five years, with loss of civil rights."

"We must find another way, and find it quickly," he said. "The time has come for World Conference leading on to Federal World-Control. Control that is, not by war-minded Governments, but by Governments shaped to the united will of the mass of common people everywhere. This vast arousal of public opinion needs a focus—that focus must be a World Conference to inaugurate a new policy of economic co-operation between the nations."

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BOOKS

Hitler's German "Madhouse"

By WILFRED WELLOCK**Germany Rampant**, by Ernest Hambloch. Duckworth, 10s. 6d.

THERE is an instinctive recognition on all sides that Germany lies at the heart of the problems which are convulsing the world today, threatening it with war and a considerable extension of totalitarianism. Hence the spate of books on Germany—informative, explanatory, interpretative—which is now being poured out, many of them, alas, written in a state of hysteria and offering solutions which can solve nothing.

Where most of these books fail in their perspective. They overlook vital facts or minimize their importance, notwithstanding that very often they supply most valuable information, derived from painstaking historical research. I long ago discovered that even the title of "professor" is no guarantee against hysteria, especially where class and nationalist issues are concerned.

In reading *Germany Rampant* I found it necessary to keep my critical eye well open. The book contains much valuable information and a useful collection of historical facts, but there is too strong a tendency to draw conclusions which a wider survey of the problems does not warrant.

We are informed on the cover that the book is a "study in economic militarism," and certainly every effort is made to create the impression of continuity in that policy, even through the centuries. The "Drang nach Osten" (expansion eastwards) is the inevitable outcome of pre-War Pan-Germanism. Yet even if the latter had died a natural death in Flanders in 1918, the post-War policy of the Allied Powers would have resurrected it.

Belief and Practice

Mr. Hambloch seeks to prove the parallelism of German philosophy and German political practice. It cannot be disputed that German philosophers like Fichte and Kant have exercised an enormous influence on Germany's political life, and are largely responsible for the German reverence for authority and the tendency to invest the State with character and personality, whose claims should have precedence over those of the individual.

But I fail to find in that tendency any ground for assuming that it carries with it a passion for imperialism or a desire for domination. These latter propensities, it seems to me, have far more to do with the hard facts of economics than with philosophy.

If only an authoritarian outlook is capable of such evils as Pan-Germanism, how comes it about that Germany is a Have-not Power while Britain, which boasts of repudiating authoritarianism, and of subordinating the power of the State to the demands of the individual for liberty, should possess the greatest empire in the world?

Besides, is it not strange that Bismarck, one of Germany's outstanding authoritarian rulers, was a strong anti-imperialist, as was also Gladstone, who nevertheless was a bitter opponent of authoritarianism? At the end of his life Gladstone was swept from office largely because of his anti-imperialism, while a wave of imperialism swept over Germany after the fall of Bismarck—that is, about the same time.

It was only when Germany realized the trade-pull which the possession of colonies carried with it, that she abandoned Bismarck's policy and entered the sphere of imperialist rivalry. From the middle of the "eighties" Germany never ceased to press her claim for a juster share-out of African territory, while Pan-Germanism re-emerged as an alternative policy.

"Drang Nach Osten"

One of Germany's objectives in the Great War was undoubtedly to redress the balance against her with respect to colonies. She lost, and the Treaty of Versailles weighted the scales still more heavily against Germany on this issue. It was weighted still further against her by the measures which the imperialist Powers adopted during the world slump of 1930/32. Now it is these facts which have given rise to the "Drang nach Osten," and neither German philosophy nor a fatal kink in the German character.

In my opinion Mr. Hambloch lays far too little stress on these facts, and sometimes even omits to mention them. The

lateness of the period in which Germany entered the competitive imperialist struggle, owing to the delayed creation of a united Germany, and the challenge which her sudden rise as a great industrial and commercial power, are sufficient to explain both the Pan-Germanism of pre-War days and the "Drang nach Osten" policy of today.

Another weakness in Mr. Hambloch's book is the tendency to assume that a united Germany stands behind Hitler's demands, for it has the fatal effect of converting Germany's "economic militarism" into a veritable nightmare. By reason of that nightmare no concessions must be made to Germany. Hence the issue of economic justice receive no mention.

The Way Out

And yet, in looking for a way of salvation from war, Mr. Hambloch declares "that the problem will never be solved until there is a new atmosphere of 'good will to all men.'" When and by what means that atmosphere is to be created we are not told. We only know that it is by a visionless prophet.

indefinitely postponed, since we are left with the grim knowledge that "the economic weapon, firmly wielded by those who have still the whip hand, offers the only chance of bringing Germany to a pacific frame of mind," to quote from the dust-cover.

Yet, strange to say, towards the close of his book Mr. Hambloch attributes the failure of modern statesmanship to its inability to realize that the real problem of today is social and not economic, and springs from the pursuit of capitalist profit instead of justice and peace. In that statement there is truth and promise, but the remedy we are in fact given is social revolution, which the author appears to think will start in Germany, when war releases the mind of the German citizen from the madhouse in which Hitler now holds it prisoner.

So, apparently we are first to have the exercise of great economic pressure upon Germany, which will probably result in a war started by the fury of Hitler, following which will come revolution. This will spread from country to country, end in a general deliverance, and so solve the social problem.

And so I lay down still another very informative book about Germany written

War as a Bad Habit

Peace With Gangsters? George Glasgow. Jonathan Cape. 7s. 6d.

NEEDLESS to say, the "gangsters" of the title are the dictators, and the whole purpose of this book is to examine whether we are going to allow the gangsters to bring us down in the general ruin or whether we are going to use our brains and save civilization by other methods than war. "For if we blunder into war, there will be nothing to save."

The spearhead of this book's optimism is the fact that in 1938 a European frontier was redrawn without war, that a number of minor wars have been and are being fought and that something has nevertheless prevented the Great Powers from plunging into another world war. Thus has been inaugurated a new era in international relations, and it is at least arguable that a world war has been prevented by the general recognition in each of the countries concerned that revolution would almost certainly be the result.

Mr. Glasgow further maintains that, instead of political issues being decided by war, a virtual war is at this very moment being decided by political means.

Absolutist Views

The author's logical and moderate outlook has much in common with that of the absolute pacifist. On the subject of the reoccupation of the Ruhr we find the comment:

"There may be something to be said for the policy of making the aggressor look a fool. . . . When the French troops entered the Ruhr in January, 1923, there was no resistance on Germany's part. Not a shot was fired. Germany had no soldiers, no navy, no aeroplanes. The mundane fact was that she lacked the means of resistance. But the result was that within a year the French troops had to evacuate the Ruhr territory, again without a shot being fired, not having gained any object and having succeeded only in exciting the hostile opinion of the whole world against herself. Germany was saved by being totally disarmed."

The author has no illusions either about the theory of Government—and more particularly its modern perversions—and attributes most of the world's present problems to the traditional habit of war as a diplomatic method. The one great need as he sees it is to rid ourselves of the grip of a bad tradition—never an easy thing to do. But have we ever even stopped to count the cost of peace or claimed that the price to be paid for peace is preferable to the price that would inevitably be paid for war?

Origin of Government

Government, it is suggested, was originally conceived as a means of protection of the life and property of a given circumscribed society. When the theory was originally laid down, it was decided by general consent and as a matter of public convenience that murder could not be allowed and that the individual's property should be protected.

"Yet Government has itself become the greatest single menace both to life and property. Ten million were killed between 1914 and 1918 by the activities of governments in mutually 'defending' their peoples. Property was destroyed to an unimaginable extent in the same process."

The colourful and all too familiar phrase "Peace with Honour" comes in for its fair share of debunking, is stigmatized as "a symptom of neurasthenia." Throughout this book, war is regarded as quite as pathological a visitation in the body politic as smallpox in the human body, and after all "in the prevention of smallpox we do not worry about 'honour.' We just prevent it."

Continued Warnings

Mr. Glasgow goes deeply into the causes of the present unrest. He issues continued warnings against a state of bad feeling existing between nations—just such an emotional sense of mutual resentment and indignation as had grown up in

WAR? IT'S UP TO YOU!

(Continued from page 1)

It's vitally important to the people at the top that the people underneath shouldn't turn round at an awkward moment and say: "This is madness, it must be stopped!" So the people at the top are training us for it now. And that, too, goes for the people at the top in Berlin as well as in London.

You see, they know that a strong desire for peace still lingers in millions of hearts, despite all the hatred that's being worked up.

Remember last September? Remember the wave of thankfulness that swept Europe when people realized there wasn't going to be a big war?

That wasn't confined to Britain. It found expression everywhere.

That's our cue, I think. If we can produce a similar spark of hope, and fan it into a flame, we can drive away this dark pall of fear.

★

If the German people became so fed up with the policy of "Guns before butter" that they withdrew support from the Nazi military machine, wouldn't it produce just such a spark? Without doubt it would.

But the Germans aren't likely to do that. The odds against them are too heavy.

But we still have some freedom left. If we ordinary people in Britain showed, by turning our backs on all this preparation for war, that we don't want to be instruments in smashing European cities to pieces, there would be an immediate response from the other side.

Fear provokes fear, as the arms race shows. But if the vicious circle can only be broken, confidence will quickly breed confidence.

If every Briton who says "Of course, we don't want war," would show that he really wanted peace, by refusing to help preparation for war, it would bring hope to the millions in all lands who also don't want war—but daren't say so very loudly just now.

And it would take the props from underneath the platforms of the noisy dictators.

While they can rave about the threat to their own particular fatherland, they can get support for their own war preparations. Once it becomes obvious that the threat has been removed they would have to get on with the job of improving the conditions of their people or there'd soon be trouble.

★

BUT the start must be made. The British Government isn't likely to make it.

But the men and women of this country have it in their power to make an unmistakable gesture of friendship to the men and women living in less happy conditions.

We can take this step though all the present causes of dispute remain in the world. It would simply show that we don't think any dispute worth the death of millions of ordinary folk like ourselves. It would show we mean to be human beings, not machines in the service of war.

More than one hundred thousand men and women have already taken that step, by joining the Peace Pledge Union and renouncing war. If you are really out for peace, you can take it too.

Think it over—and remember the man-in-the-street in other lands, and his wife and kiddies, who will certainly be blown to bits if we think that any dispute is worth a war.

Vera Barnes

THE SHADOW AND THE SUBSTANCE

Democracy and Socialism, by Arthur Rosenberg. Bell, 12s. 6d.

THE word "democracy" has gathered many meanings in the last hundred years. It is used by those with developed theories of "true democracy" to mean nothing less than the Utopian free society. It is used by some practical politicians of today, it would seem to indicate any

country outside the Axis.

In this book, by a former Professor of History in Berlin University, it is used in that older and cruder sense, for which the author can cite Aristotle's definition that "it is nothing more than the rule of the poor in the State, just as oligarchy is the rule of the rich." Purists, however, will be unwise to ignore the book on that account.

If it does not discuss the refinements of democratic theory, it is a most brilliant description of the vagaries and transformations of popular movements.

The democratic movements with which Professor Rosenberg is chiefly concerned are those which, whatever the theory of their leaders, were basically simple de-

mands for more power for the masses. And the perpetual irony of the record is to be seen in the ease with which one movement after another is persuaded to accept the shadow, while the ruling class retains the substance. For some pacifists, Munich, perhaps came near to being such another occasion!

It should be made clear that the book is not simply a "Marxian interpretation" of the democratic and revolutionary movement of the nineteenth century, but a study of the relations between Marx, as an active politician, and these movements.

Its conclusion would seem to be that while democratic movements failed by indefiniteness of aim, Marx himself was at fault in rejecting and destroying movements because they could not rapidly enough suit themselves to his particular revolutionary demands. Both kinds of failure may point possible morals in more pacifist fields.

A. C. Staniland

LETTERS TO THE EDITOR

A Reply to An Open Letter :: Are Pacifists Pro-Nazi?

I FIND it difficult to reply to Mr. Cowling's criticisms of my autobiography *A Single Flame* in his open letter addressed to me in your July 7 issue, as they strike me as perfectly justified. My life has not been very consistent, and when compressed into 270 pages, its inconsistencies are, of course, more obvious.

Like most of those who were neither gullible nor sadistic, I went to the War out of sheer weakmindedness—the same reason that most young men will go to the next war, should this damnation strike us. I wrote the chapters in which I suggest that a defensive war might be obligatory under the stress of indignation at our betrayal of the Czechs. It seems to me a mistake for pacifists to minimize the squalor of this, even if the use of force was no remedy.

However, the further deterioration of the press and public mind since Munich, and the introduction of conscription, have made me revert to my natural belief that a war, from whatever lofty motives it was declared, would only bring yet more scum to the top, and that "our own savages" would immediately control the nation, demanding yet another "knock-out blow."

I therefore accept Mr. Cowling's sympathetic rebuke, though I still think that my book has pacifist value for its insistence on the futile degradation of the war.

MARTIN BOYD.
Kensington, W.8.

J. W. Cowling writes:

I am grateful to Mr. Boyd for the spirit in which he has received my review. Many pacifists will agree with him that it is a mistake "to minimize the squalor" of what happened last September.

As to his autobiography, I willingly admit that it has pacifist value, for its author shows war as the evil it really is. Just because of that I pleaded with (not rebuked!) him, and with those thousands for whom I believe he speaks, to renounce that evil. Mr. Boyd's letter leads me now to hope that he has already done so.

P.P.U. and Policy

Your correspondent, John Priest, in saying that "The looseness of the constitution of the Peace Pledge Union precludes the possibility of dynamic drives at psychological moments," surely misses the whole essence of our movement. Is it not rather just this freedom of each group to act as it sees fit at any particular time, not being bound by any hard and fast organization (which inevitably retards action), that alone will keep urging us all on to ever-increasing activity and readiness to take risks for our cause?

Rather than concern ourselves about starting another organization such as your correspondent suggests, should not every group be "intensely active, using every available means to bring before the public the necessity for a new peace conference, disarmament, and the true facts about war"? Unless each one of us is desperately in earnest and working and giving as much as we can to this end, both individually and in our groups, we are not worthy of the name of pacifists.

C. W. HOPE GILL.
c/o Dick Sheppard House, 6 Endsleigh Street, W.C.1.

Propaganda

Would you be so good as to give publicity to a certain matter which is causing grave concern in pacifist circles. Some of us have been much perturbed by the recent insistence on propaganda which threatens to turn the Peace Pledge Union into a political organization. No one can possibly cavil at the desire to find out and proclaim the truth, and the Pacifist Research Bureau, which produced "Why Were They Proud," has done an admirable and useful piece of work. But the pacifist propaganda which one reads and hears is frequently rash, unverified and ill-considered.

Another type of propaganda is even more dangerous—the indiscriminate vilifying of our own country. Carried to extremes it stirs up fear and hatred and is the antithesis of that non-violence which is essential to true pacifism.

All this would seem to show the urgent necessity of abjuring all propaganda and returning to the simple pacifist doctrine of Dick Sheppard. Research is admirable and so is propagation of truth, but this should be the work of experts accustomed to sifting evidence; otherwise pacifists, by adding their contribution to that poisonous stream of propaganda which is polluting our whole civilization, may help to destroy what they are seeking to preserve.

DOROTHEA ANDERSON.
Cambuslang, Glasgow.

Let the Peoples Meet!

I AM more concerned each day at the state of this country and I feel that whilst Great Britain cannot afford and should not afford to give way one inch of true principle, I, at the same time, do not see why a further attempt should not be made between the Powers to negotiate a lasting peace. This, it seems to me, could be done, without either side having to climb down from its pedestal.

If the old saying is true that "lookers-on see most of the game," then I feel there should be a meeting of one or two statesmen of the countries between whom there is a dispute who are not holding reins of office and who might, without feeling that they had the responsibility of taking final decisions, discuss the matters at issue and advise their Governments.

I suggest, therefore, that some

attempt to arrange such a meeting shall be made forthwith, and, knowing what a strenuous worker for human welfare and lover of peace Mr. George Lansbury is, I suggest that he be asked whether he would be willing to act either alone or in conjunction with other statesmen (for preference not, at the moment, holding high office) so that an approach could be made to the countries across the water with problems to discuss.

If the answer was in the affirmative a time and place of meeting could be arranged and when these gentlemen had thought out a scheme amicable to all concerned, it could be put before the respective Governments for consideration.

EDWARD FRAMPTON.

58 Woodbourne Avenue,
Streatham, S.W.16.

Lesser of Two Evils

I WAS very disappointed with the broadcast by the Rev. Pat MacCormick, when he advised his hearers to choose the lesser of two evils.

No doubt he meant well, but I cannot find anywhere in the teaching of Christ that principle advocated. Did he not give us a very definite set of rules to keep, as a guide to conduct? Is not the Sermon on the Mount a clear outline for his followers to practise if the Christian life is to be a success? He has never promised us material security, but he has offered to us eternal life, which is far more important. He definitely said that those who take up the sword will perish with the sword.

We all know that war is wrong, therefore why justify it in certain circumstances? I cannot understand why the Church does not take the lead as a body to abolish this curse. Whether Hitler or any one else will take advantage is not our business. Cannot we leave the matter in God's hands who alone can give us real safety?

I cannot see how we can ever obtain peace by choosing the lesser of two evils.

ELISE MAKY.

84 Stopford Road, Jersey, C.I.
(Open letter to Pat McCormick, page 6.)

The Jews

I am sorry to hurt anybody like Mr. Gross (*Peace News*, July 7), who sincerely holds his religion as a Jew. Let us acknowledge straight away that the world owes a great debt to the Jews and the Jewish religion, but let us be clear minded enough to realize that the Jewish contribution is only a tithe of the great human inheritance.

It is true that there is a distinctive flavour about the Jewish religion, which is very beautiful and attractive, it is true that it is imbued with a great moral passion, but I do not think it is an indispensable element, now, in the education and redemption of man, precisely because, being such a great inheritance, it has been thoroughly incorporated into the present human consciousness.

Twentieth-century man requires a twentieth century religion, and he is not served by any religious orthodoxy that insists that the true faith is preserved in the religious consciousness of any particular past century or people. The world knows no chosen people, and it is absurd and dangerous to imagine that the Jews are a chosen people, as it is absurd and dangerous to imagine that the Nazis are a chosen people.

The Jews are a racial myth: they were long ago assimilated, Hitler or no Hitler, into the cultures that have supplanted them, as all people ought to be, and finally will be, assimilated into the universal culture of humanity.

The price the Jews pay, and the rest of us have to pay, for Jewish separateness is too great, for the exceedingly few sides of life they have to represent, which have not been thoroughly absorbed into general human culture. To enjoy being martyred is not noble and not human.

In Palestine, we want the two sides to embrace and assimilate each other, and not to stand on the dignity of their preposterously outmoded cultures.

J. C. G. BURTON.
30 Corder Road, Ipswich.

War Resistance Abroad

WILL Peace Pledge Union, Fellowship of Reconciliation, International Friendship League Groups, &c., arranging Autumn and Winter programmes remember that a knowledge of what pacifists abroad are doing and suffering will help to refute the arguments briefly summarized in "everyone in England is pacifist (at heart)—take your message to other countries."

Write to Grace M. Beaton, 11 Abbey Road, Enfield, Middx., or Sydney P. Larcombe, Ridge Cottage, Sevenoaks, Kent, for a speaker on the work of the War Resisters' International, of which you are a member if you have signed the PPU Pledge.

SYDNEY LARCOMBE.

Sevenoaks.

The Summer number of *The War Resister* has just been issued and in parts it make grim reading. It makes one realize what real hardships and sacrifices some of our fellow pacifists have to endure.

One is almost shamed into silence at our own small inconveniences beside their real sufferings. Yet their courage in facing their difficulties gives one inspiration to go forward in one's faith, confident of ultimate success.

The long prison sentences these men have to endure could be made happier by a little kindness on our part. We could write postcards and letters or send some magazines.

Besides our comrades in prison there are many who, because of their convictions, are driven out of their countries. The War Resisters' International is doing everything possible for these men and their families. Nearly 100 have been helped to start a new life in one country or another.

I do appeal most sincerely to all who have not yet helped in this work to get in touch with the Secretary of the WRI (11 Abbey Road, Enfield, Middx.).

H. E. HUNT.
2 Rushmoor, Ashley Green, Chesham, Bucks.

Scouts

Re the continued controversy about Scouts and National Service. I believe the Peace Pledge Union will do a grave disservice to the cause of world brotherhood if it tries to force an issue with Scout Headquarters as advocated in *Peace News* last week. The Scouts' greater ideal of international brotherhood and service must transcend thoughts of narrow nationalism—let us leave it to the sure growth of friendship that is bound to come through Jamborees and Rover Moots, rather than make a cleavage with such a world movement.

In his chapter "Patriotism" in *Scouting For Boys*, Lord Baden-Powell says, "The Great War caused the deaths of hundreds of thousands of British soldiers and French, German, American, Austrian, Italian . . . One thing which helped to bring about the war was the fact that the people knew very little about each other personally . . . If they had been good friends in peace time they would have understood each other better and would never have come to blows."

W. STANLEY SEAMARK.
2 Great Russell Street, Northampton.

"Peace-stickers"

I noticed the other day that someone has discovered a new use for "Peace-stickers"; that of sticking them by the side of "National Service" stickers already fixed to telephone kiosk windows.

H. D. MARSHALL.
26 Fanconberg Road, London, W.4.

F. E. MARSH.
(Stuart Morris's letter censored by Daily Telegraph—page 7.)

If further evidence were needed that there is in reality very little to choose between the methods and reliability of our British press and that of Germany it is surely supplied by the arrant nonsense that has recently been published in our British press to the effect that "the Peace Pledge Union is a channel for Nazi propaganda in Britain."

So far from this being the case, the one and only reason why I, for one, have not joined the PPU is because it has always seemed to me to be so very little bitterly anti-Hitler!

My main object in now writing to you is to say that I only hope all readers of *Peace News* will now have had their eyes opened by this unfair press propaganda against the PPU. If such nonsense can be published in even our oldest established and most "respectable" British newspapers concerning the PPU what guarantee have we that the same press is not publishing equally false and unfair reports concerning Germany?

I submit that it is this deliberate poisoning of public opinion in the press, both in England and in Germany, that is one of the principal causes of war. Indeed, has not Lord Ponsonby proved this up to the hilt in his book *Falsehood in War Time*?

L. J. REDGRAVE CRIPPS.
"Wide Horizon," Worthing.

Ill-informed people and newspapers are endeavouring to attach to the Peace Pledge Union the label of fascists. It is difficult to understand whether it emanates from certain quarters as propaganda against the PPU or is the result of badly-formed opinion of people who make no attempt to understand the ideals of the PPU.

I suggest that a manifesto be issued setting out the policy of the PPU, stating that it is the same policy of passive resistance as was held by conscientious objectors many years before Nazi Germany came into being and has as one of its chief planks the ideals of democracy and the brotherhood of man which are in no way comparable to the present methods of fascism, be they of Italian or German brand. The manifesto should be a direct answer to the charges of pro-fascist tendencies in the PPU.

At the present moment it appears that certain sections of the community are beginning their propaganda of hate so essential to governments when endeavouring to squash troublesome minorities or factions totally opposed to the ruling parties. It should be a matter of vital interest to the PPU to see that suitable methods exist to disprove to everyone in England, and elsewhere for that matter, calumnies and the like which are extant at the moment and may in the near future reach large dimensions, by which time we may have lost the freedom of expression we now so rightly enjoy.

PERCY H. WILLIAMS.
Wood Green.

Might I suggest that the publication by the *Daily Telegraph* of the report and unsolicited recommendations of the Economic League should be treated for what it is worth—a particularly obvious red herring. Their attempts to prove the Peace Pledge Union to be a "pro-Nazi" danger are, of course, ludicrous. If by saying that war is bad and friendship is good, one becomes anti-Government, that is surely because the Government in the first place became anti-human.

We shall have to be increasingly wary of these "attractions" designed to deflect us and others from the clear implications of fundamental belief. It is fatally easy to be drawn into an argument upon the "rights and wrongs" of things that spring from the same evil sources as war? But so long as we take our stand upon the fact that war and the causes of war are evil, we are unanswerable, and are able to exercise charity towards those who are so tragically misled as to defend that which they, as decent human beings, loathe as much as we do.

F. E. MARSH.
34 Dukes Avenue, Chiswick, W.4.
(Stuart Morris's letter censored by Daily Telegraph—page 7.)

"Assuming Hitler wants War."

In the letter from "ARP" (*Peace News*, July 14) alter the words "assuming Hitler wants war" to "assuming ARP wants war," and sign the whole letter "Hitler," and it is a revelation. Both stand shouting: "Assuming he wants war, why shouldn't we have an air force to blow others to bits and air raid pickets to pick up our bits. We didn't start the trouble, so tell him to be sensible, because we won't be sensible till he is." And Civilization trembles!

W. SPARKS.
Hollinwood Road, Disley, nr. Stockport.

JOHN BARCLAY writes from Room 13: HYMN OF HATE

AFTER a weekend of open-air meetings, I am reminded of the old tag that *Sticks and stones can hurt your bones, But nicknames never hurt you.*

A few of the nicknames were—pro-Nazi, anti-Jew, pro-German, anti-British, and then pro-Chamberlain, anti-pacifist as well as pacifist Christian and Socialist—with a broad hint that I was a “blue-blooded Tory” and a member of the “Cliveden Set,” as well as a follower of Keir Hardie and a receiver of “Moscow gold.”

Well, well!—what does it all amount to? I think just this—that we pacifists must be willing to take all the kicks and few of the ha’pence; to become the “whipping-boy” during a period when men are terrified of their own shadows; for, after all, what is Hitler but a shadow of our own past?

During the next few months we shall come right up against it and the only defence we shall have to put between the mob and ourselves is our own good humour and steadfast faith in the goodness of human nature. Plan your work ahead and forget the “crisis promised in August”! A “crisis” comes largely because it is promised

During August and September will be the time to get out into the open-air. Every evening someone in your district should be out selling *Peace Service Handbooks* or helping with a meeting.

Far more important than anything else just now is that as many people as possible should be able to hear a calm rational voice maintaining its belief in friendship—

**The Group
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especially friendship with people living under dictatorships.

The holiday season this year is shadowed by tension and one of the jobs of peacemakers would seem to be the easing of tension.

An example of how this can be done came my way recently when a voice on the phone, obviously distraught, asked me “if the war was likely to start Monday or Tuesday?” I assured the unknown voice that as far as I was informed, the war had been postponed indefinitely. Instantly the tension relaxed and the fear had to that extent been removed and there was one person less making war more likely.

★

Our work is to discount hate—the hate of the socialist for the Nazi, the hate of the Englishman for the German, the hate of the Left-winger for the pacifist—and to prevent, *at all costs*, the Hymn of Hate which alone makes war inevitable.

Those who speak on Tower Hill know the little man whose one form of heckling is to ask the question “What is the cause of war” and is only satisfied if he gets the answer “The cause of war is economic.” I believe the cause of war to be fear, hate and greed, and whether these are shown in the economic world or elsewhere, wherever they are shown, they are the cause of war and they can only be overcome by their opposites.

Over 1,000 groups working day and night on these lines can make a great contribution to world peace.

“Tickle” your Group Secretary

To the Editor of “Peace News”

John Barclay says we need a sense of humour, agree and suggest we also need a sense of responsibility that will drive us along to our local group secretary with an offer to help in the great work for Peace.

I know our Secretary would be tickled to death!

WILLIAM STILL
London Way, S.E.

put on the table at the meeting, thus enabling York group to realize its long-cherished ambition to open a Dick Sheppard Centre in the city.

One of the York members gave up a week of his holiday to take C. W. Hope Gill round the City and its environs; Mr. Wait’s help and devotion was a tremendous inspiration and example.

The York secretary, who is doing heroic work in sorting out his 300-odd members into groups, each in charge of a collector, will need all possible support in making a success of the Centre.

Two visits were made to Pocklington, a new group started there, and an open-air meeting held in the Market Square as its first activity. (Other groups, please copy!) Three trips to Malton enabled Hope Gill to make personal contact with isolated members, address an Adult School, and a most encouraging group meeting.

New Earswick, a new garden village estate with a very active group, held a splendid public meeting in the Village Hall. Helmsley and Poppleton also came within Hope Gill’s indefatigable wanderings.

Four days remained for Scarborough, during which Saltburn, Redcar, Middlesbrough, and Guisborough were visited. They started with an enthusiastic meeting of Scarborough group—a splendid tribute to the efforts of D. Robson, East Yorkshire Regional Secretary, who arranged the roving commissioners’ programme in Yorkshire. (Look out for great things in Scarborough this summer!)

C. W. Hope Gill has just two more weeks in South-East Yorkshire before the Harrogate conference, when he looks forward to giving members some first-hand impressions of his work, and practical hints for making a great forward “drive” throughout the country—and making August the busiest, instead of the slackest, month of the year.

New Stockport Group

THE first meeting of the Cheadle Heath (Stockport) group was held last week.

The group leader is Mr. G. Tuson, 11 Dorset Avenue, Adswood Road, Cheadle Hulme, and the secretary is Mr. G. Blackwell, 15 Ellesmere Road, Cheadle Heath.

There are now groups on all the four sides of Stockport.

Hostility in Bexhill

THE Bexhill group was assisted in an anti-conscription poster parade by the Hastings, Eastbourne and Polegate groups. The reception was hostile on the whole, but the paraders were able to give away nearly 1,000 copies of the conscription broad sheet.

Since then 1,000 copies of the “Open letter to Men of Conscription age and their Parents” have been distributed in the town.

Penrith’s First Annual Meeting

AT the first annual meeting of the Penrith A group Mr. A. Parkin reported that in spite of a reluctance among members to undertake personal service, much had been achieved. Ten public meetings had been held and the speakers

Misplaced Sympathy

From a correspondent

PEACE Pledge Union poster parades were making their way along Corporation Street, Birmingham, when an old lady stopped one with:

“Dear, dear! Whatever is the world coming to? Fancy young men and women like that taking jobs from old men!”

And here’s what another old lady said to a member of the same group who was distributing literature and had met with many refusals:

“I’ll have one, they ought to be ashamed of themselves for refusing. They never know what they will come down to some day.”

Tramp Preachers in a “Tough Spot”

HOSTILITY and unimaginative opposition are reported by Alfred Opie, one of the three tramp preachers who are spreading the pacifist message in the East Midlands area.

From Coalville, he writes that the area “needs some real hard graft of the pioneering kind, a willingness to take the kicks and the laughter, and the heartburnings at the lack of response that it will mean.”

Nevertheless the work of the tramp preachers has been far from fruitless. Seven more people signed the Peace Pledge in Coalville, one in Loughborough, two in Swadlincote.

In all these places and in Shepshed interested people have promised to attend PPU group meetings.

At seven meetings eight dozen *Peace News* and some *Peace Service Handbooks* have been sold, and quantities of free literature distributed.

In Coalville and Loughborough, the leaflet *The Warning* was distributed outside cinemas where the ARP film of the same name was being shown.

Particulars of the tramp preachers’ itinerary and how PPU members can help their campaign are obtainable from the chairman of the PPU East Midlands Area Committee, Mr. G. C. Baldwin, 1 Woodville Drive, Sherwood, Notting-

Under the Oak Tree

WANTED—A HOUSE!

By Dorothy Plowman

HAS anyone a house they would like to lend me?

Because it looks as if, come September, a small family-party may still be needing to make a home together, and, given a roof and four walls, I believe the rest would “happen.”

Once more I plead for the PPU’s Basque children. At the end of May 24 of them left us for their homes in Spain. Since then the Basque Committee and the staff at Langham, knowing that their house (now so much too big for them) must be given up in September, have been working over-time to fit individual girls and boys with homes, schools and “parents,” and on the other hand to find would-be adoptive families suitable “adoptees.” The result to date has been almost unbelievably good.

Sixteen children are settled or in process of settling into their new households. Of these so far only one has not proved itself the home we trusted it to be, and this afternoon I have been welcoming two of our bonniest girls—and incidentally our best workers—back to London, on their way “home” to Basque House. (I hasten to add that this one unsuccessful experiment was not in a PPU home, and that in future no child will be sent to any other.)

Fifteen more children have been reclaimed, either by parents who are emigrating—generally to Mexico, but in one case to Russia—or, if they are still in Spain, asking that their children should be returned when they themselves have work, or when the food situation improves. These, therefore, need hospitality for a longer or shorter period.

There remain the six or seven children who, for one reason or another, would be better off if they could continue as a small colony. Among these are the very young, whose development would be seriously halted if they were completely cut off from their Spanish contacts and education, as well as the more timid, unprepossessing and backward few who, more than any, need the shelter and care of a known and trusted environment.

After more than two years’ experience of the way pacifists respond to and carry out a piece of work such as this of caring for the Basque refugee children, I have no doubt of our being able to see this one through to its true and fitting conclusion. Though how, is yet to be discovered.

The original Basque Fund is almost exhausted. The PPU as an organization finds itself unable, among all its other commitments, to shoulder the responsibility of this refugee work. But am I right in believing that there are in the PPU enough individual friends of the Basque children to see that those who still need our help shall not have to go elsewhere for it?

And if I am—has one of them a house to offer us, for a beginning? And after that, how many of them will continue to support us, entering into a new covenant to help us run a new (little) Basque House, for a little while longer?

On Tour with the Publicity Van

Since May 1 the Peace Pledge Union Publicity Van has been touring the countryside. Here is an account of its work.

THE season opened very depressingly.

Fast and frequent rain marred our meetings, and apart from one lady who made a spirited attack on David Spreckley, our small Cheltenham audiences were very meek and long-suffering.

However, with a change for the better in the weather, things began to look up.

A two-days’ tour of villages in the Golden Valley area of Gloucestershire produced much interest. Two more days, useful though relatively uneventful, were spent in villages near Bath, where John Deacon of Leicester took over the speaking.

We then journeyed to Severn Beach, a Bristol pleasure resort, and had an excellent afternoon meeting topped off by an equally successful evening meeting in Bristol.

After three days around Burnham-on-Sea and Bridgwater (where we had no conspicuous success) Exeter received us kindly with a good meeting—though the police would not permit us to use the loud-speaker.

Good Work in Devon

Then on to Newton Abbott, where Ted Maddox, Devon Organizer, met us. There followed a trip to Plymouth, where Reg. Burnett, our new speaker, addressed an audience of about 300.

Bideford, Brixham, Kingsbridge, and Paignton were covered during the week, and a final huge Saturday evening meeting in Newton Abbott made us feel that our week in Devon had been well spent.

At Taunton, Miss B. Underwood of Epsom took over the speaking. Three days were spent in talking to Somerset villagers before we went across country to Eastleigh, Hants. In this district we had two hectic days of almost continual meetings.

Owen Page of Lincoln joined me in Win-

chester. Apart from meetings in Winchester and Andover, the three days in this area were devoted to villages.

In the Villages

Wokingham and Ascot were next visited, and the following three days spent in Berkshire villages. Small attendances are usual in villages; most villagers prefer to listen through open doors and windows.

Owen Page left the van at Oxford and local members spoke at Witney (where the crowd was most hostile), Woodstock, and Kirtlington.

Rugby, too, provided its own speakers, and we had small meetings in the neighbouring villages. At Rushden, Northants, we had two good evening meetings before going on to Northampton and Market Harborough.

The following three days were spent in Leicester suburbs, where we had some fair-sized meetings, marred somewhat by rain.

At Keyworth, the van joined up with the Nottingham group, and James Norbury of Manchester came to speak.

Picknickers Interested

A Sunday visit to Edwinstowe, a favourite picnicking ground, proved valuable. The rain came down and we gave the sheltering picnickers a sort of “Luxembourg” programme. We were altogether well received.

A later meeting in Mansfield Market Place was also excellently attended. But cold and rainy weather affected meetings at Bulwell, Hucknall, Beeston, Long Eaton, Sutton, and Kirby-in-Ashfield.

Sheffield came next, and we spent a very enterprising three days visiting housing estates. We had no large crowds but reached a lot of people in houses. On one day John Barclay was the speaker.

The final week in the first two months we used in visiting mining villages around Rotherham, Doncaster, and Worksop. Roy Walker did most of the speaking in this period, during which two or three really useful meetings were held—the best being at Mexborough.

And so the van goes on...

LEONARD I. SIDWELL.

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Forthcoming Events

As this is a free service, we reserve the right to select for publication notices sent in. We nevertheless desire to make it as complete a service as we reasonably can, and therefore urge organizers of events to

1. Send notices to arrive not later than Monday.
2. Include: Date, TOWN, Time, Place (hall, street); nature of event; speakers, organizers (and secretary's address)—preferably in that order and style.

Today (Friday)

READING: 7.45 p.m. Folk House, Church Street; Mock Tribunal; chairman: Robert Pollard; For, Society of Friends and PPU.

LONDON, W.C.1: 8 p.m. 8 Endsleigh Gardens; "Arguments we are up against"; an inter-member discussion; PPU.

Tomorrow (Saturday)

PECKHAM: 3 p.m. Dick Sheppard Centre, 158, Queens Road; opening performed by John Barclay; Centre open to visitors from 7 to 10 p.m. Sale of handicrafts; competitions and refreshments. Entertainment at 7.30 p.m. Proceeds to Basque House and refugee funds

SOUTHAMPTON: 3 to 5 p.m. and 6 to 8 p.m. Temperance Institute, Carlton Crescent; one-day school; Andrew Stewart on "Can we really save the Peace," PPU.

NEWTON ABBOT: 7 p.m. Market Square; Rev. J. O. Law, Rev. T. Cooke and Rev. D. Fraser; PPU.

CROYDON: 7.30 p.m. Katherine Street; open-air meeting; Sybil Morrison; PPU.

Sunday, July 23

ALTRINCHAM: "Fernlea," Dunham Road; One-day school; 2.15 p.m. discussion between Left Book Club and PPU members on "Collective Security or Pacifism?" Dr. Lewis, Mr. B. L. Metcalf and Mr. E. C. Gates (chairman); Manchester and Cheshire Left Book Clubs.

PUTNEY HEATH: Open-air meeting; supporters meet at 7.15 p.m. by Zetas at junction of High Street and Putney Hill; PPU.

BIRMINGHAM: 8 p.m. Friends' Meeting House, Bull Street; Barrett Brown on "Conscientious Objectors and the Military Training Act"; chairman: John S. Hoyland; No Conscription League.

SPARKHILL: 8 p.m. Sparkhill Park; Rev. Donald Rose, Mr. Sydney Conbeer and Mr. O. Henry (chairman); PPU.

Monday, July 24

TROWBRIDGE: 7.30 p.m. The Town Bridge; open-air meeting; L. O. Brown on "Which Way to Peace?"; chairman: Rev. K. M. Preston; PPU.

WOKINGHAM: 7.30 p.m. Dick Sheppard Centre, 3A The Terrace; opening performed by John Barclay; PPU. The Centre will be open on Mondays, Tuesdays and Thursdays from 7 to 9 p.m. and on Mondays for talks and discussions at 7.30 p.m.

Tuesday, July 25

LONDON, E.C.4: 12.10 p.m. 13 Paternoster Row; Mary Gamble on "The Challenge of Pacifism"; City PPU group.

TOWER HILL: 12.30 p.m. Open-air meeting; Ben Greene; City PPU group.

LONDON, N.W.1: 1.20 p.m. Friends House, Euston Road; Bishop Theodore R. Ludlow on "The Influence of the City on American Attitudes and Politics"; Peace Committee of London Friends.

Thursday, July 27

LONDON, E.C.4: 1.10 p.m. 13 Paternoster Row; A. J. Moore on "Cruder Pacifism"; City PPU group.

LONDON, E.C.4: 6 p.m. 13 Paternoster Row; Felix Tomlyn on "The Science of Unity"; City PPU group.

BETHNAL GREEN: 8 p.m. Victoria Park Square; Huntly Woodcock and C. H. Haworth (chairman); PPU.

LEIGH-ON-SEA: Friends' Meeting House; Mock Tribunal; actual COs to act as the Tribunal to try older applicants; For.

BOURNEMOUTH: The debate that was to be held in St. Stephen's Hall today has been postponed till September; watch this column for full particulars.

Friday, July 28

LONDON, W.C.1: 8 p.m. 8 Endsleigh Gardens; Gaston Laval on "The Anarchist Movement"; PPU.

LONDON, W.C.1: 8 p.m. 8 Endsleigh Gardens; for all COs, "Our Task This Year"; inter-member discussion; Fellowship of Conscientious Objectors.

Fri. to Fri., July 28 to Aug. 4
WELWYN: Digsowell Park Conference House; Summer Institute for the Study of Peace and International Affairs; details from the Secretary, Friends' Peace Committee, Friends House, London, N.W.1.

Saturday, July 29

EDMONTON: 3 p.m. St. Mary's Vicarage, Fore Street; Garden meeting and social gathering; Andrew Stewart; will those intending to attend please send postcard to Mrs. Whitford at above address.

Sat., July 29, to Tues., Aug. 8
HARROGATE: Pannal Ash College; PPU Summer Conference; particulars from John Barclay, Dick Sheppard House, 6 Endsleigh Street, London, W.C.1

Tues. to Sat., Aug. 1 to 12

FIBOURG, Switzerland: Greng Castle, Lake of Morat; Summer Course on "Toward a New Psychological and Social Outlook"; International Peace Academy. Details from R. H. Ward, 10 Abbey Gardens, London, N.W.8.

Sat. to Mon., Aug. 5 to 7

CHESHUNT, Hertfordshire: Weekend camp for all COs; cost 7s. 6d. or less. Full particulars from Frank Cole, 84 Review Road, Cricklewood, N.W.2.

What the Groups are Doing

(continued from page 10)

before the tribunal in Leeds, and that hospitality was being arranged for those coming from a distance.

The question of finance was discussed and it was suggested that a system of collecting by means of cards be used. This was recommended to the committee for adoption.

Bexleyheath Open-air Meeting

DONALD PORT and Basil Painting addressed a recent open-air meeting at Clock Tower, Bexley heath. The meeting commenced at 8.15 p.m. and soon a large crowd congregated, most of which remained until 10.30 p.m. From then until nearly midnight small groups were still discussing questions dealt with.

Since the meeting four new members have been enrolled and there have been numerous inquiries.

Activity in Edmonton

THE EDMONTON METHODIST PEACE FELLOWSHIP forms an active part of the Edmonton branch of the PPU. Started three years ago with three members, the Peace Fellowship has since enrolled twenty new members.

This year has seen considerable activity on their part. Members helped with the National Peace Council's petition for a new world conference; they organized a peace play evening attended by 130 people; they have sold 85 copies of the *Peace Service Handbook*, and in addition have sent gratis 215 copies—one to each minister, local preacher, Sunday School teacher and official in their circuit of seven churches.

Since then they have started *Peace News* selling for 1½ hours every Friday night and their next step is to co-ordinate the Christian section of the pacifist movement in Edmonton.

Mr. J. A. Stratton, 42 Warwick Road, Edmonton, N.18, will be glad to give particulars of how they arranged their play evening (it realized over 30s profit) to all who care to write to him.

New Group for Barnet Area

SINCE the appointment of their new area secretary in April last, the Barnet area has been successful in starting a sixth group centred

round Cockfosters station. Barnet area takes in both Cockfosters and Hadley Wood, and members are now anxious that a group should be started in the latter township. Ronald Page, 73 Woodfield Drive, East Barnet, would be glad to hear from any *Peace News* readers in that district.

More than 1,000 copies of the *Peace Service Handbook* have been disposed of by the groups. The secretary had an amusing experience, when, after selling six copies in less than twenty minutes outside the local Conservative and Unionist Fete, he was asked inside by the man at the gate, who mistook him for a "National Service" enthusiast.

MOTHERWELL AND WISHAW "PEACE WEEK"

THE MOTHERWELL AND WISHAW GROUP has just concluded a successful "Peace Pledge Week." Ten open-air meetings in Motherwell and Wishaw were held during the week, a total of 450 copies of the *Peace Service Handbook* were sold, and 10,000 leaflets to publicize the campaign were distributed in the streets.

During the week they were assisted by speakers from the Glasgow University Pacifist Club and the Glasgow region.

Fishponds "On the Map"

THE FISHPOONDS (BRISTOL) GROUP is now "on the map." During the past few months all signatories in the district have been visited, numbering just over fifty, and the group now has a membership of 23.

The group meets once a month at 80 Downend Road, Fishponds, for discussion and business, and at the next meeting it is intended to discuss the Van Zeeland Report. Anyone interested should write to Fred. R. Strange, at the above address.

New Group in Hertford

A NEW GROUP has been formed in Hertford—a district where there is much for pacifists to do.

The secretary is Brian H. Barnett, Digsowell Park, Welwyn, Herts. (Phone: Welwyn 22.)

PACIFISM NOT A SHORT-TERM POLICY

THE FUNDAMENTALS of the pacifist opposition to war were emphasized by Helen Ford when she addressed a meeting in Glasgow last week organized by the Society of Friends. She emphasized the positive and constructive side of pacifist service.

Opponents in these days too often expected pacifists to give in one sentence a solution to world problems, she said. Pacifists had no "short-term" policy to secure peace, but depended on the growth of good will and the development of right relations between individuals and nations.

Controversy at Exeter

Topical and highly controversial subject of discussion at the Society of Friends' Meeting House, Exeter, recently was "Absolute Pacifism." Supporter of the view that it is wrong for a Christian to fight in any circumstances whatever was Mr. Karl Kapp Johnson, of the Friends' Peace Committee, while M. Rolland Chaput, represented those who, in the words of the chairman, Mr. Norman Yendell, "are forced reluctantly to admit that the use of force is sometimes necessary as a last resort."

It is well that we should face the possibility that Hitler may dominate Europe or even occupy England, Mr. Johnson said, but Nazism can only become our creed if we are prepared to adopt his way of living. It may mean suffering, but it is a struggle worth dying for. Christians are summoned to greater things than assistance to one Imperial Power or another. We must save civilization or let it perish.

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PERSONAL

WOULD ANYONE travelling Devon, Bangor, August 4 care write Joan Layton, 44 Heredey Close, London, N.3, view travel together?

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THERE'S STILL HOPE FOR PEACE

(Continued from page 1)

How many such loads there were, or the number of women employed on this task of adding to the work of nature, we did not hear. My own thought about it is that perhaps it is a good thing that such a mound of earth was piled up so as to ensure for ever in the memory of succeeding generations the supreme folly and futility of war.

At the foot of the hill a huge round building has been erected within which a most wonderful panoramic picture of the battle is exhibited. I have never seen anything quite so realistic anywhere else in the world.

Guides speaking all European languages do their best to explain the tactics of the struggle. The realism of the picture made me feel sick.

The crushing charge downhill of French cavalry, only to find themselves overwhelmed by the British infantry; the charge led by bareheaded Marshal Ney, the famous French General; the picture of Wellington and his staff on one side, and the small figure of Napoleon on the other side waiting for reinforcements or news of fighting, which might ease their own situation; and then, in another place, the coming of the Germans under Blücher, which turned the tide of battle; and, at the close, the meeting at the place now called in English "The Grand Alliance" of the German General Blücher and the British General Wellington; the flight of Napoleon and his consequent surrender and banishment to St. Helena; these and a hundred more stories were told us, or came rushing into our minds, as we gazed at this 124-year-old gigantic picture story of man's folly and brutality.

Lesson of Waterloo

I asked, what would Blücher and Wellington think could they come back to us today?

The people united against France who fought in that great struggle imagined they were struggling to free Europe from the domination of one man, one nation—Napoleon and the French. All that happened is seen today in the horrible fact that once more the youth of the world is being organized to slay or be slain, not on one great battle-plain, as at Waterloo and the Lowlands of Europe, but in a universal war waged in villages and townships on a scale more ruthless, more barbarous, than anything Attila or Napoleon ever dreamt of.

Don't let the easy vapourings of the press concerning our newly conscripted militia deceive anybody. They are treated nicely. Sergeant-majors will now use Sunday School language.

But war, if it comes, will be a murderous, bloody, insane business, worthy only of those whose reason has been replaced by unreason. No-one can look at this picture of Waterloo without feelings of shame, sorrow, and down-right anguish, and—let me say for myself—not without truth, admiration, and respect for the men on both sides who were capable of such high purpose and heroic endeavour even though the end, as they did not realize, must be sheer futility.

One more thought: I have been reading some of Captain Liddell Hart's writings on the present situation so far as war conditions are concerned. He is clear enough for anyone to understand.

His conclusions concerning the destructive power which individuals may now exercise are terrible to contemplate, as the Spanish disaster makes clear. I ask this question: Is not the coming into play of such individual action the sign of moral decadence brought on by the propaganda of lies and hatred which poisons the main springs of individual thought and conduct?

"Full of Hope"

Kill or be killed is a horrible dilemma to place before mankind. Yet this is what rulers everywhere are saying. Comrades, if this were all, we should all just fold our tents and wait for the end.

Evil and distressing as was much of what we saw and heard, I came home (so did Henry Carter, I am sure) full of hope, if not of absolute confidence, that Europe will escape the catastrophe. We may not be able to demonstrate this, just as those who

(Continued in Col. 2)

**CUT OUT FOR RETURNS
No. 162 21.7.39**

A Pacifist Commentary

Speed-Up in War Preparations :: Let Us Keep Our Heads :: The Root of the Tension

WAR preparations are being speeded up in Britain with remarkable alacrity. The Chancellor of the Exchequer, when winding up the debate, last week, on the third reading of the Finance Bill, feared that the £580,000,000 originally estimated for the purpose of defence would be exceeded by a good deal, and would be at least £630,000,000 and might be more. In fact the supplementary estimates have brought the total up to £730,000,000. In parliamentary circles it is anticipated that during the present financial year the Treasury will ask Parliament to sanction further estimates.

Major-General J. H. Beith ("Ian Hay" in more normal times), Director of Public Relations at the War Office, over the weekend, said, "nearly a million men will be under arms in this country by August."

A passing reference to a speech of Mr. Hore-Belisha, Minister for War, in this connexion may be of interest. He stated that "the militia was expected to be raised for three years, but from what he had seen it looked as if the young men of the future would be disappointed if they did not undergo the same democratic experience these militiamen were undergoing." Does this mean that conscription is likely to be a permanent feature of our national life?

The Fleet is to be reviewed by the King of Weymouth on August 9. The Prime Minister, when announcing this, thought the exercises would extend to about the third week in September.

Following on the massed flights of British bombers over French territory, which the Air Ministry recognizes as having a "tremendous effect on foreign Powers" (one assumes to impress Germany and Italy in particular), a further 100 bombers, or more, have crossed the Channel this week to make similar demonstrations.

General Sir Edmund Ironside, Inspector-General of Overseas Forces, has been in Poland this week for important conversations with the

General Staff there. He will also inspect the arms factories and military bases in Poland. Could any gestures be more provocative? They are certainly very far removed from paving the way for anything like a purposeful discussion in the near future between the differing interests.

The potential danger in all these preparations cannot be disguised. The best energies and thoughts of this country are being directed toward accepting them as inevitable. They are and must be when a nation believes in a policy of superior force as a method of asserting its will. But we must not be deceived by these moves into thinking that they give defence or national security, which they actually endanger, while completely failing to solve the problems which remain and tend to become aggravated.

Call to Co-operators

THE International Co-operative Alliance has just issued an appeal to the 70 million co-operators within its ranks "to exert every ounce of their moral influence" through co-operative ideals to prevent the outbreak and holocaust of a world war. The circular says it is the responsibility of co-operators the world over to manifest, and publicly to proclaim, their support of every measure and means that will contribute to turn the tide of world affairs from the paths of destruction to those of reason, understanding, and friendship between the nations.

Co-operators, the manifesto continues, "are called upon to undertake these tasks not merely as a means of averting the present crisis, as measures of rescue from the horrors that threaten them, but as definite steps towards the realization of that equity, justice, and freedom between peoples which alone can secure the progress of humanity and the peace of the world."

This is indeed a clarion call. I suggest readers should read this in conjunction with the article by Lord Ponsonby appearing in *Peace News* last week. We cannot impress too often upon all our friends the importance of concentrating on this type of action. Amidst all the welter of war propaganda of the moment let us keep our heads and not be confused.

It is very easy to take the line of least resistance when popular feeling is against one. Past experience should have taught us that more often than not a minority opinion, when it has been arrived at through careful study and thought, has proved to be right when history has been finally recorded. Remember always that the power to transform society ultimately rests to a very considerable degree with people like ourselves.

"Fit for Service"

THE Premier commented in a recent speech on the good physical condition of Britain's conscripts. Similar remarks were made in the press "write-up" of calling-up day.

How near these comments are to the truth is indicated in a letter from Richard M. Titmuss in *The Spectator* (July 7). The letter asked "how it is humanly or statistically possible to reconcile the results of the Militia examinations with

(a) A rejection rate of over sixty percent for the Regular Army (of the last 1,000,000 men to apply for enlistment approximately 650,000 have been rejected);

(b) A rejection rate of 35.7 percent for the RAF;

(c) Of the men between the ages of 18 and 45 applying for training at Ministry of Labour Instructional Centres in 1938, 22 percent were rejected on medical grounds;

(d) Up to June 18 (49,586 examined) the percentage of Grade I men was highest in the north and Scotland, and lowest in London and

the south-west. This constitutes a complete reversal of the regional rejection rates for the Regular Army, and fails to correspond with either the trend of mortality statistics (for the age group 18-25) or regional indices of economic welfare."

Yet, according to Mr. Chamberlain, 92.2 percent of those examined for the Militia "are fit for service today"!

The writer in *The Spectator* also referred to cases of youths who have been passed as "fit for service" in the Militia though they had previously been rejected for the Regular Army on medical and physical grounds. "The lapse of time between the two examinations was insignificant," he added.

His figures give added weight to the pacifist argument that the only war worth fighting is the war on poverty and bad social conditions.

Problem of Planning

LORD DUDLEY, the president, addressing the fifteenth congress of the Federation of Chambers of Commerce of the British Empire in the Guildhall last Monday made some remarks which are worthy of special mention.

He said that the development of power production was so recent that they were still perhaps tempted to concentrate their attention on the development of production while failing to emphasize sufficiently the importance of planning consumption. Production could be immensely increased if effective demand could be increased. Lord Dudley asked the congress to consider how many of the world's problems would automatically be solved and how many international tensions eased if the acerbity of international competition for available markets could be lessened by a sudden increase in the absorptive capacity of those markets?

One constantly comes across inquiries of this kind. They come from all shades of political thought. There would at last appear to be a slow filtration of the truth as to some of the cardinal causes of the various ills besetting civilization. Unfortunately many know the causes but few have troubled to think out the remedies.

The "absorptive capacity" could be met relatively easily if the standard of living was raised without a corresponding rise in prices. Further, consider the poverty in Britain, the limited amenities (indeed, necessities too) of the vast populations of China and India—approximately 800,000,000 people. All these are potential markets.

Large-scale armaments mean contracting world markets, which in the end must lead to fresh tensions if Lord Dudley's argument is accepted. Until the world is commercially and industrially organized for the benefit of all mankind, war will be lurking in the background. We must not attribute the responsibility of war purely to rival ideologies, for they are only the outcome of contributory factors which, in the main, are economic.

... By any other Name!

THE social side of ARP, &c., is coming now into prominence. We hear of cricket teams, dart matches and so on. . . .

A Sheffield auxiliary fireman declares it is all good fun and more so now there is a bar installed and a billiard table available.

"You can always tell the wife you have been having extra practices," he adds, "even if she replies, 'It smells like it'."

R. M. B.

This commentary, in common with other contributions appearing in "Peace News," must not be assumed necessarily to represent the views of the Peace Pledge Union.

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